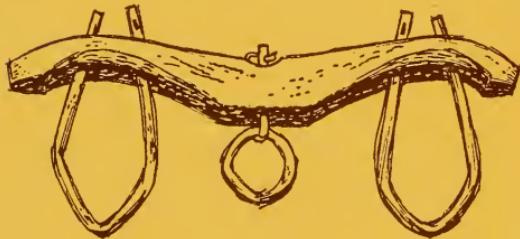


FREEPORT'S LINCOLN

THE FATE OF A NATION
WAS DECIDED AT FREEPORT

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FREEPOR T'S
LINCOLN

FREEPORT'S LINCOLN

Exercises Attendant Upon the Unveiling of a Statue of
ABRAHAM LINCOLN; Freeport, Illinois, August 27, 1929,
the Seventy-First Anniversary of the Freeport
LINCOLN-DOUGLAS DEBATE

CONTAINING ADDRESSES DELIVERED AT UNVEILING,
LIST OF EXHIBITS DISPLAYED, ACCOUNT OF
LINCOLN-DOUGLAS DEBATE, ETC.

Statue Designed and Executed by **LEONARD CRUNELLE**
and Presented to People of Stephenson County, Illinois,
by **WILLIAM THOMAS RAWLEIGH**, of Freeport, Illinois

ILLUSTRATED

PUBLISHED BY **W. T. RAWLEIGH, FREEPORT, ILL.**

1930

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FREEPORT, ILL.

PRINTED IN U. S. A.

Freeport, Ill.

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FF877

LINCOLN
Room

DEDICATED
To MY ONLY SON
WILBUR T. RAWLEIGH
WHO GAVE HIS LIFE
THAT THE FREEDOM LINCOLN VISIONED
MIGHT STILL ENDURE

W. T. RAWLEIGH

“SO TEACH US TO NUMBER OUR DAYS
THAT WE MAY APPLY OUR HEARTS
UNTO WISDOM”

—12TH PSALM

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PREFACE

BECAUSE of a general desire on the part of Lincoln students and of many others who attended the unveiling of the Lincoln statue at Freeport, Aug. 27, 1929, for a compilation of the addresses and other proceedings associated with the exercises, this souvenir volume has been prepared and published. While the name and fame of Lincoln are a cherished national possession, his association with the city of Freeport was to become of such vital significance to the American people as to make it fitting that it be recalled and preserved in such memorial as the statue designed by Leonard Crunelle and made possible through the munificence and public spirit of Hon. William T. Rawleigh.

The occasion was particularly auspicious and memorable. The afternoon of the unveiling was one of almost unrivaled loveliness and the exercises at Taylor Park attracted a throng estimated at fifteen thousand. In this gathering were many visitors of note and distinction and drawn from many states and sections. Following the ceremonies a

reception was given by Mr. and Mrs. Rawleigh at their charming home, Countryside.

It was the great privilege and pleasure of the Lincoln-Douglas Society of Freeport and Stephenson County to have the unveiling exercises carried out under its auspices. The society herewith expresses its sincere appreciation of the co-operation and aid it received from many individuals and sources, and conveys its thanks to all who helped to make the occasion memorable and thus to give Freeport its deserved historical setting.

J. R. JACKSON,
President Lincoln-Douglas Society.

INTRODUCTION

TIME has cast a glamor of romance over the Lincoln-Douglas debates in the summer and autumn of 1858. This accords with the general process of history, since from this episode were to flow results of momentous consequences to a great people. Yet, the considerations which made appeal to the popular imagination at the time of its occurrence are hardly the ones that were to give it interest to later generations. To the American people at the time it was the general issue involved which arrested attention, to our later generation its appeal lies in its association with Abraham Lincoln and his remarkable career.

The story of this momentous contest need hardly be here reviewed. Nominally it was only over a United States senatorship, but because of the strategic position in which Stephen A. Douglas stood before the people as a leader at Washington and a potential presidential candidate it assumed national import.

Each of the seven debates had its distinctive features which were of peculiar interest in bringing one or the other of the contestants into bolder relief. It is hardly too much to say, also, that in this campaign Lincoln did his most brilliant, if not the most notable, work of his whole career. In this contest is seen the real Lincoln, mastering himself, relying on his own resources and forging his way forward without the later glamor of success or

legend to obscure his real self. The notable fact of the opening debate at Ottawa was that Lincoln more than satisfied the expectations of his friends that he could hold his own in debate with the mighty and experienced Douglas with all his long training in Congress. At the Freeport meeting the significant feature was the propounding by Lincoln of his famous questions to Douglas, who fell into the trap by attempting to answer them and was thus to blast his own hopes for the presidency. The Jonesboro debate following is remembered because of the hostility of sentiment toward Lincoln there and his winning, nevertheless, of some measure of respect by his frank statement that he was not afraid to meet the people of southern Illinois among whom he had once lived and whom he considered as neighbors.

At the notable Galesburg debate Lincoln may be said to have passed Douglas in the race, as here he practically left behind him the more technical and quibbling points of the slavery issue over which he and Douglas had been wrestling and advanced boldly upon the higher ground of slavery as a purely moral issue.

In the closing debate at Alton, although again in territory hostile to Lincoln, and in the place where the abolitionist editor Elijah P. Lovejoy had earlier been slain by pro-slavery sympathizers, the waning powers of Douglas and the inherent staying qualities of Lincoln stamped the contest, even in the minds of their hearers there, as a vir-

tual victory for Lincoln. The issue became not merely one over a senatorship but the general issue of curbing the spread of slavery.

Douglas was a candidate for a third term in the senate. Through his Kansas-Nebraska bill of 1854, which he succeeded in putting through Congress, the Missouri Compromise of 1820, as well as that of 1850, was repealed and the whole question of slavery extension in new territory was again opened. The prominence of Douglas and his position of influence and power thus made the prospective Illinois vacancy in the senate a matter of national concern and of Illinois a national battle-ground, as it were. Abraham Lincoln had been nominated by the newly-formed Republican party to oppose Douglas on the ground of opposition to slavery extension and in these two strong men were thus typified the opposing schools of sentiment that was crystallizing. It was this no less than the great abilities of the two contestants that made their series of joint debates of such a notable character.

It was not the first time that Lincoln and Douglas had taken issue with one another. In early life they had sat together in the Illinois legislature and for a score of years they had known each other and had paid their respects to one another as representatives of opposing political views.

The acceptance by Douglas, therefore, of Lincoln's challenge for a series of joint meetings in 1858 immediately attracted widespread interest in

the contest. Furthermore, the contest developed into a forensic battle that exceeded all expectations in the abilities displayed by the two rivals and the high political and moral aspect which it gradually assumed.

In the series of debates that followed, the meeting at Freeport was destined to become the most significant in after results.

In his Kansas-Nebraska bill Douglas had created a law which left it optional with new states to accept or reject slavery. At the same time the Dred Scott decision of the Supreme Court held that a slave remained a chattel wherever he might be taken. The difficulty in which Senator Douglas and the Democratic party found themselves in endeavoring to sustain these anomalous doctrines and positions became quickly apparent to Lincoln's logical mind and he determined to force Douglas to take his stand on one or the other of the propositions. An honest reply from Douglas would be practically forecasting his position if he were elected President. In the debate at Freeport, therefore, Lincoln demanded his view on the question, if the people of a territory could shut out slavery before becoming a state, in spite of the Dred Scott decision. Douglas replied as perhaps an honest man and a brave man only could; that in his view a territory could practically shut out slavery through unfriendly legislation. This frank, if indiscreet, admission was to prove big with results for both Douglas and Lincoln. It was this incident which

was to give Freeport its chief historical heritage. Lincoln's determination to force this issue with Douglas at Freeport proved his political astuteness. As the next debate was to be at Jonesboro in southern Illinois, territory hostile to Lincoln, Senator Douglas had declared that he would "trot him (Lincoln) down into Egypt" and compel him to show his real Republican colors there. Lincoln resolved to forestall Douglas while yet in the friendly territory of northern Illinois and seized the opportunity presented at Freeport.

In his reminiscences of Lincoln, Joseph Medill, founder of the Chicago Tribune, says that after the election of 1860, Lincoln once asked him if he remembered how he (Medill) and others had discouraged him against putting his now famous question to Douglas at Freeport. Lincoln also intimated that he had felt all along that such question, if answered, would defeat Douglas for the presidency.

Whether or not this is to an extent legendary, the fact remains that documentary proof exists that Lincoln practically held this view. In a letter dated at Springfield, Nov. 26, 1858, after the fall elections that year, Lincoln wrote to Dr. B. C. Lundy:

"There will be another 'blow up' in the democracy. Douglas managed to be supported both as the best instrument to break down and to uphold the slave power. No ingenuity can keep this deception—this double position—up a great while."

Likewise of the significance of the Freeport debate, Mrs. Eleanor Gridley, author of "The Journey from the Log Cabin to the White House," writes:

"Freeport should assert its right to claim an enviable reputation. It was in your town and just before Mr. Lincoln opened the debate there that a friend said to him, 'If you put that question to Mr. Douglas he will perceive that an answer, giving practical force and effect to the Dred Scott decision, in the territories, inevitably loses him the battle, and he will reply by offering the decision as an abstract principle but denying its practical application.' To this remark Mr. Lincoln replied: 'If Douglas does that he can never be President.' Another friend of Mr. Lincoln said, 'That is not your concern; you are after the senatorship.' 'No, gentlemen,' said Mr. Lincoln, 'I am killing bigger game—the battle of 1860 is worth a hundred of this.'

"Isn't it quite safe to say that here, in Freeport, that psychological moment fixed Mr. Lincoln's future greatness, and is it not worth while to claim that distinction?"

As one of the meeting grounds where the rising new folk leader of the West was to clarify the distracting political situation of the time and to prepare the way for the final settlement of America's greatest issue since the Revolution, Freeport thus occupies a shining place among the shrines of the nation.

FREEPOR T'S
LINCOLN

THE DONOR



HON. WILLIAM T. RAWLEIGH,
Donor of Lincoln Statue

DONOR OF THE STATUE

WILLIAM THOMAS RAWLEIGH, the donor of the Freeport Lincoln statue, was born near Waldwick, Iowa county, Wisconsin, December 3, 1870—in that intensely patriotic period following the Civil War. He was brought up on the farm. While attending school he became deeply interested in history, particularly regarding the Civil War, and he read many books on Abraham Lincoln and Generals Grant, Sherman, Sheridan, Logan and Lee. During his spare time he sold "Deeds of Daring by Blue and Gray," a book of narratives of the Civil War, which contained many stirring stories which fired his youthful imagination and helped create his interest in history.

He came to Freeport in 1889 and in 1895 organized The W. T. Rawleigh Company. He has always been a busy business man but has always taken a deep interest in public service. He served a term as alderman in 1906-7. In 1909 he was elected mayor. In 1910 he was elected member of the Illinois 47th General Assembly, where his friendship for the farmer and laborer and advocacy of forward-looking legislation were marked. In 1924 he was chairman of the La Follette-for-President committee and national treasurer of the La Follette-Wheeler joint national committee.

Mr. Rawleigh is a man of world-wide activities. Ever since boyhood he has been an admirer of the character and public services of Abraham

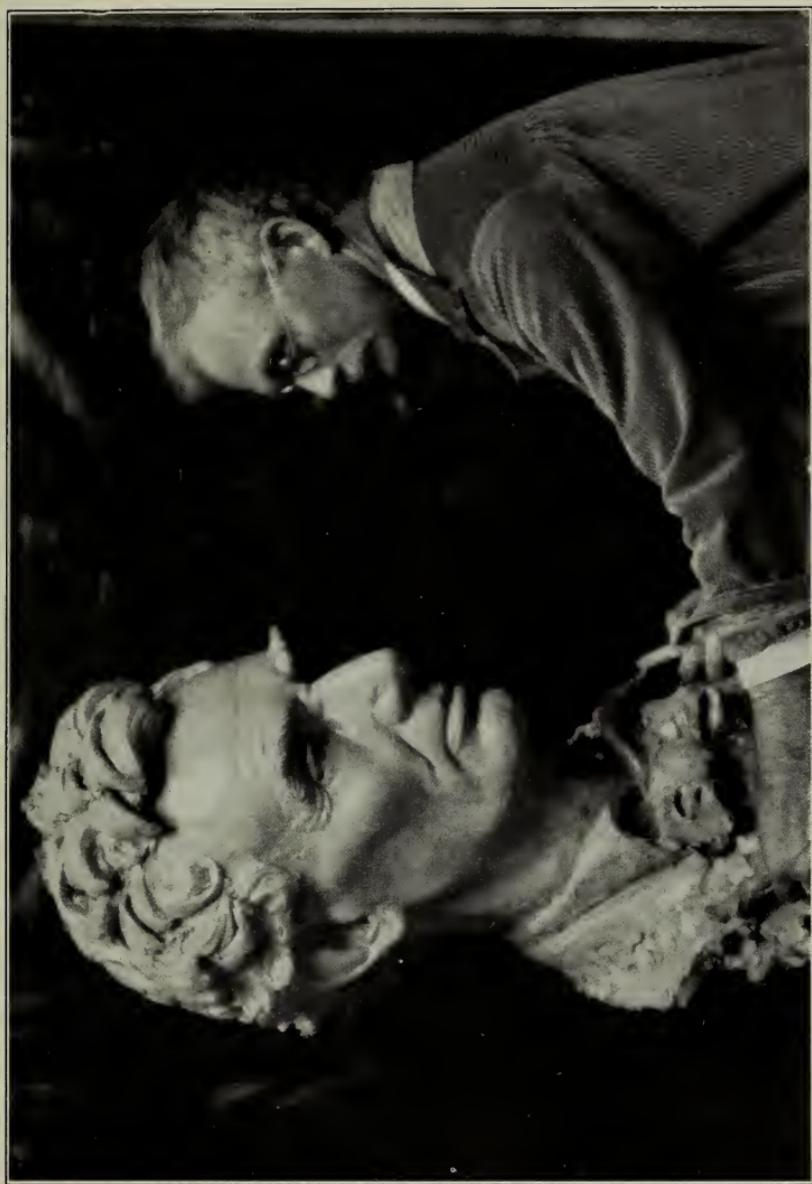
Lincoln, and later of Presidents Garfield, McKinley, Roosevelt, Cleveland and Wilson, of William J. Bryan and Robert Marion La Follette and of the business policies and principles of Henry Ford.

It was because of his desire to see Lincoln's ideals perpetuated for the generations to come that he presented the statue "Lincoln the Debater" to Freeport and Stephenson County to commemorate the famous debate of August 27, 1858.

THE SCULPTOR

THE SCULPTOR
of the Freeport Lincoln Statue

LEONARD CRUNELLE, sculptor of the Lincoln statue at Freeport, was born in Lens, Pas-de-Calais, France, on July 8, 1872. He has been a pupil of Lorado Taft and the Art Institute, Chicago, since 1901. His principal works are a statue of Gov. Richard Oglesby, Lincoln Park, Chicago; and a statue of Gov. John M. Palmer, Springfield, Ill. He is a member of the Society of Western Artists, the Chicago Society of Artists, and the Cliff Dwellers Society, founded by Hamlin Garland, the author. His studio is located at 6016 Ellis Avenue, Chicago. Several months were spent by him in designing Freeport's Lincoln statue. Mr. Crunelle is regarded as one of the outstanding sculptors of America.



THE SCULPTOR AT WORK IN HIS STUDIO ON THE CLAY MODEL

FORM OF INVITATION AND PROGRAM

You are cordially invited to attend
the unveiling of a statue of
ABRAHAM LINCOLN
in Freeport, Illinois

August twenty-seventh, nineteen hundred
twenty-nine

The Seventy-First Anniversary of the
Freeport debate

The Lincoln-Douglas Society, Freeport, Illinois

The statue is by LEONARD CRUNELLE and is presented
to the city of Freeport by HON. W. T. RAWLEIGH. Be-
sides an interesting program, there is being arranged an
unusually interesting exhibit of objects and mementos
of historical interest relative to the life and works of
LINCOLN.

PROGRAM

*Lincoln Exhibit August 26-27-28
Masonic Temple*

9:00 A. M.

Band Concert

10:30 A. M.

Reception of persons who heard one of
the debates and representatives of Lincoln
Clubs—At Taylor Park

12:00 Noon

Picnic lunch at Taylor Park

1:00 P. M.

Drill by American Legion
Drum and Bugle Corps

2:00 P. M.

UNVEILING CEREMONIES

J. R. Jackson

President, Lincoln-Douglas Society
Temporary Chairman

Philip F. La Follette, *Chairman**Invocation*

Rev. J. T. McCreery

Presentation
Hon. W. T. Rawleigh

My Conception of Lincoln
Leonard Crunelle, Sculptor

Unveiling of Statue

Acceptance of Statue
Hon. E. E. Laughlin

—*Addresses*—

Dr. H. J. Burgstahler
President, Cornell College
Mt. Vernon, Ia.

Dr. John Wesley Hill
Chancellor, Lincoln Memorial
University
(Author of *Abraham Lincoln: Man of God*)

Hon. George W. Norris
United States Senator from Nebraska

COMMITTEES IN CHARGE

Program

L. A. Fulwider, *Chairman*
Edward Auman
G. F. Korf
G. X. Cannon
A. R. Dry
Mrs. F. H. Towslee
L. M. Swanzey
C. O. Shunk

Local Arrangements

Chas. Demeter, *Chairman*
M. B. Marvin
R. Knoble
W. J. Trevillian
Mayor George Edler
A. A. Haase
W. J. Neely

Exhibit

Charles F. Stocking, *Chairman*
Miss Mae Stewart
D. L. Breed
Mrs. C. F. Stocking

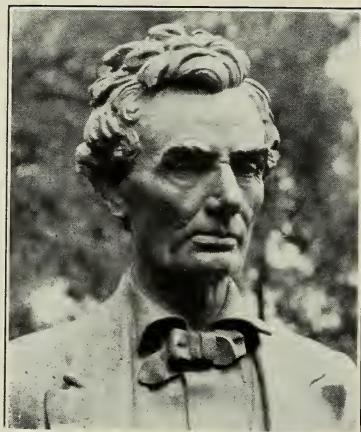
SEVENTY-FIRST ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATION

COMPLETE arrangements for the unveiling ceremonies at Taylor Park had been made. The city of Freeport was in gala attire. The streets were decorated with national colors and floral arches were erected at the entrances to some of the principal streets and at Taylor park. The speakers and other visitors of distinction were taken in cars to Taylor park where a band concert preceded the unveiling ceremonies.



UNVEILING FREEPORT'S LINCOLN

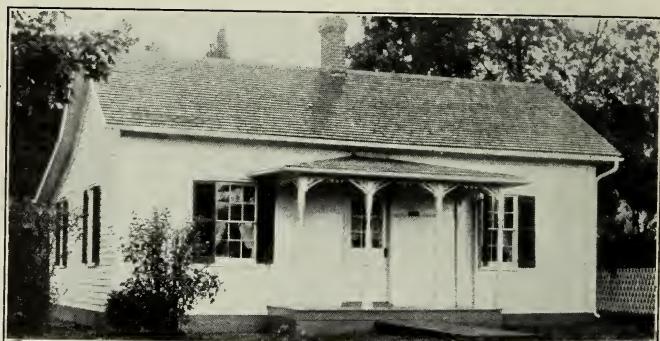
The above panoramic illustration shows a part of the vast crowd which assembled on the 71st anniversary of the Freeport Lincoln-Douglas Debate to witness the unveiling of Freeport's Lincoln.



A close-up view of "Lincoln, the Debater." This illustration and the one on the opposite page show how well the sculptor caught the Lincoln spirit.

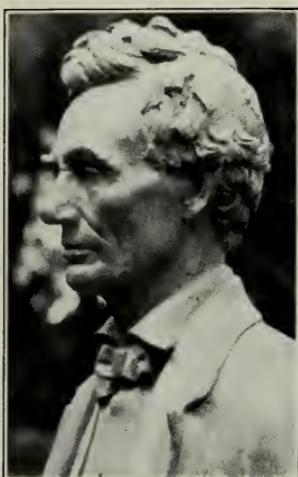
THE BRYANT HOUSE

In this house (at Bement, Illinois) Lincoln and Douglas met to arrange their famous series of debates. (See text, page 81)





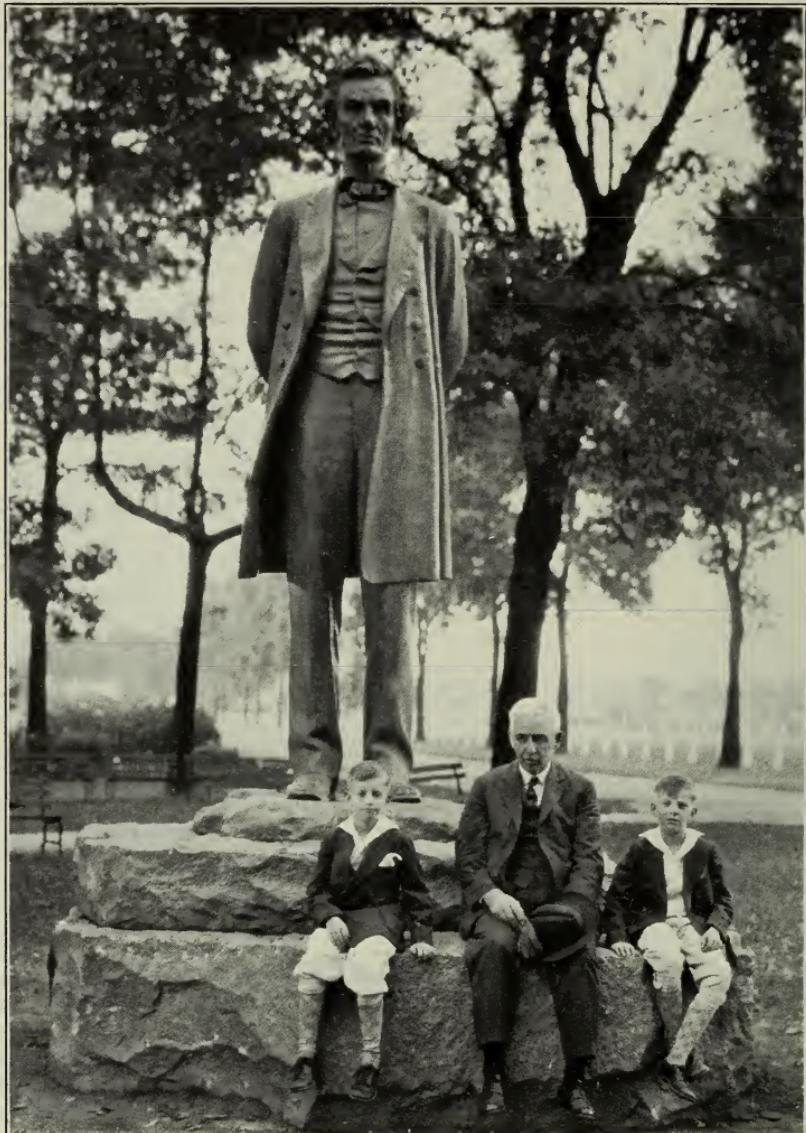
As the above illustration indicates, thousands of men, women, and children gathered to pay tribute to Lincoln at the Freeport unveiling. A special section was reserved for those who attended the original debate. (See text, pages 101 and 131)



Marker erected near the spot where the Freeport Debate was held. The "Freeport Doctrine" cost Lincoln his nomination for senator, but won him the presidency. (See text, page 90)



Reproduction of the fine Lincoln miniatures in the collection of the late J. B. Oakleaf, which were kindly loaned by him for the Lincoln Exhibit in Freeport in 1929.



HON. W. T. RAWLEIGH, DONOR OF THE STATUE, WITH
HIS TWO GRANDCHILDREN WILBUR A. AND WILLIAM R.
KOENIG, WHO UNVEILED THE STATUE

CHAPTER I

SEVENTY-FIRST ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATION

EXERCISES AT UNVEILING OF STATUE AT TAYLOR PARK
AT 2 o'CLOCK P. M., AUGUST 27, 1929.

Address of
J. R. JACKSON
President Lincoln-Douglas Society

"The Lincoln-Douglas Society of Freeport and Stephenson County is an organization recently formed for the purpose of fostering and preserving an interest in the lives and public services, the principles and ideals exemplified in those two great Americans, Abraham Lincoln and Stephen A. Douglas. More particularly its purpose is to perpetuate the historical interest the citizens of Freeport and Stephenson County have in the famous Lincoln-Douglas debate held here August 27, 1858, which was to prove of such momentous significance to the nation.

"While Freeport has an interesting historical background aside from its association with Lincoln and Douglas, its chief claim to fame lies in the fact that it was the scene of one of the meetings of these two outstanding champions of the political thought of their time.

"Here occurred one of those events which have profoundly influenced and changed the course of history.

"The Freeport debate is generally regarded as the most important of all of their joint debates before the electorate of their state. The Freeport doctrine enunciated here not only determined the course of future events for these two men, but gave crystallization and direction to the nation's thought on the most important issue of the time.

"By virtue of the meeting on the same platform of these great proponents of opposing schools of political tendencies in the momentous era of the 50's, Illinois became the battleground of the nation. Here were clarified the great issues which led to the final arbitrament of the Civil War for their ultimate solution. The eyes of the whole country and of much of the world were centered with intense interest upon Illinois and thus upon the slavery question itself.

"It is to preserve and foster this historical heritage and to keep alive its lessons of patriotism and civic worth that the Lincoln-Douglas Society of Freeport and Stephenson County has been formed. As set forth in its by-laws, its general purpose is:

"To promote, encourage, arrange, plan, execute, and to assist in promoting, encouraging, arranging, planning, executing and carrying into effect suitable and appropriate meetings, gatherings or celebrations in memory or in commemoration

of the Lincoln-Douglas debate held in Freeport, Illinois, on the 27th day of August, 1858.

"To educate and encourage the general public to think, study and acquaint themselves with the history of our county, state and nation, and historical events, especially in connection with the lives, works and deeds of Abraham Lincoln and Stephen A. Douglas.

"Other objects of the society are to encourage and aid in the building of memorials and the collection and preserving of historical documents, pictures and other mementos.

"It is a patriotic duty of each community to preserve its historical and other distinctions. This can best be done through the medium of such organizations as the Lincoln-Douglas Society. There are, of course, many societies of this general character in Illinois and other states. There is room and work for such an organization in Freeport and Stephenson County. The unveiling of the Cruquelle statue of Lincoln presented to people of Stephenson County by W. T. Rawleigh is a case in point. In the observance of similar events in the future a strong society should ensure the success of such undertakings and thus materially aid in preserving our historical heritage.

"There should be thousands of men and women throughout this city and county who are interested in the perpetuation of its historical background and particularly that pertaining to our associations with Lincoln and Douglas and through

them with some of the most important historical events in the nation's history. One of the best ways in which this interest can be manifested is through membership in this society. Citizens of Freeport and of Stephenson County generally are invited to become members of the society, as well as interested persons elsewhere. In the membership of the society are now found the names of residents of Chicago and other points where like organizations have fostered a similar historical interest. It is earnestly hoped by the officers of the Lincoln-Douglas Society that a strong society may soon be built up to carry out its laudable purpose."

Opening Remarks
PHILIP F. LA FOLLETTE
Chairman of the Day

"This city and its historic debate will be remembered as long as men are interested in the life of America. Here marks the defining of an issue which freed millions of human beings from bondage, plunged a nation into a costly and bloody war, caused the downfall of a great national figure, and the rise of a country lawyer to a place among the heroes of the ages.

"The Freeport debate would long ago have been forgotten had it been only a contest for a United States senatorship. But, here were voiced the arguments and positions of two great leaders on a great phase of the most important of all human issues—liberty.

"The statue here to be dedicated today commemorates a great occasion and a great man. Lincoln would be the first to ask us all to likewise do honor to Douglas. The nation followed Lincoln and, by contrast with him, has under-estimated if not too harshly judged Douglas. The debate held here was great because two great men presented their convictions on this issue.

"This occasion will be memorable for us if we are able to catch the spirit of that afternoon 71 years ago when Abraham Lincoln and Stephen A. Douglas debated the issue which culminated in the Civil War."

Prayer at the Unveiling
By REV. J. T. McCREERY

"Almighty God, our Heavenly Father, at the entrance of this memorable occasion, on which the citizens of our city and of this great commonwealth are assembled to commemorate the birth of freedom to multiplied millions of our nation, we pause before thy Majesty in reverence to Thee for the priceless gift of liberty purchased for the world by the sacrifice of the life of Thine only begotten Son. We come to Thee with open hearts of gratitude for the manifestation of Thy matchless love revealed to the Christian world in the gift of this great nation, this glorious land of liberty.

"We thank Thee for the unmistakable evidence of Thy divine presence in the early dawn of its history, for Thy Providential guidance and care that piloted the puny vessels of our forefathers through the dangers of stormy seas to our shores.

"We thank Thee for giving to the country in the formative period of its history men of superior courage and wisdom to write its constitution, men who laid its foundations deep in the principles of Christian liberty, principles that have crowned every generation in its history with glory and honor.

"We thank Thee for the constant presence of the Captain of the Hosts of God who has stood guardian at the door of the nation, and guarded these sacred principles by His omnipotence and

led our armies in their defence to glory and achievement.

"We thank Thee for giving to the nation men for the times in every critical period in its history, who have led it safely through every conflict to its present greatness and glory.

"We thank Thee for giving to this nation in the hour of great peril the life of the immortal Lincoln, the great emancipator and ruler of superior wisdom and courage, through whose influence Freedom was born and the unity of the nation preserved.

"We come this day in reverence to Thee for guiding him in that perilous hour in the nation's history to give it a new definition of freedom and a new obligation to all men.

"We thank Thee for the life of our esteemed friend and honored citizen Honorable W. T. Rawleigh, for his great and influential life, for his interest not only in civic but national affairs also. Especially do we thank Thee for his great gift to this city and county of this beautiful statue, this symbol of freedom, this sacrifice that gives to us this great occasion.

"Crown him, we pray Thee, with the joy of divine approval in the presentation of this gift.

"We thank Thee for the great life and ever widening influence of our honored United States Senator George W. Norris, the speaker of this occasion. We thank Thee for the noble manhood and great statesmanship revealed by him in his cour-

age to stand in our legislative halls in defense of those righteous principles that make a prosperous nation and a Godly people.

“Grant him, we pray Thee, Thy presence in the responsibilities of this occasion.

“We thank Thee for every achievement in our national history. We thank Thee for our present peace and prosperity, and for its influence with the nations of the world. And we pray that these may be abiding, and that the glory of the present may be only the infancy of its greatness, that the love of freedom may live on throughout the ages, and that peace and righteousness may prevail, and abound more and more until the perfect day, through Jesus Christ our Lord, Amen.”

Speech
HON. W. T. RAWLEIGH
Donor of Statue

“This is a world of compensation; and he who would be no slave must consent to have no slaves. Those who deny freedom to others deserve it not for themselves, and under a just God cannot long retain it.’

“These words of Abraham Lincoln are a statement, not only of a political philosophy, but an application of fundamental Christian principles to political, social and economic life. They phrase the purpose and meaning of Lincoln’s life, and should be a guide to all men and women who want to foster and preserve the American ideal of government.

“For generations prior to the landing of the Pilgrims our forefathers had been held in subjection and deprived of their religious liberties and political and economic right. But after years of struggle and sacrifices first came independence and then the Constitution providing for religious freedom and that equality of opportunity such as had never before been obtained in the history of mankind, and yet when Abraham Lincoln came to Freeport 71 years ago today, some four million black men and women were held in bondage and bought and sold at public and private sale like other real and personal property under that same Constitution under which they were endeavoring

to maintain their political independence, freedom and liberty!

"No one would now assume responsibility for the introduction, support and maintenance of slavery, but the fact remains that in spite of the Constitutional limitation, slavery was allowed to thrive, grow and spread until it had became a menace to the unity, peace, happiness and contentment of every man, woman and child in the United States.

"Lincoln not only loved his fellowmen, but he had such a deep sense of justice that he rebelled against holding any human being in slavery. He also had the courage of his convictions to oppose the extension and perpetuation of slavery, and in the great debate at Freeport he clearly defined the moral and legal issues which gave the people of that day a clearer understanding of their duties and responsibilities under their own Constitution.

"It is fitting that the great Freeport debate should be commemorated by a statue of Abraham Lincoln. The debate itself marked a change in the destinies of this nation and in the lives of both Lincoln and Douglas. Here were marked out the issues which were only finally solved after the bloodshed and horror of the Civil War; and in one sense Freeport was the point where crystallized the movement which liberated four million human beings from slavery.

"We honor Lincoln for his great character, his great gifts, but above all because he was the

leader of the forces that carried forward the progress of mankind. Each generation must wage its own battle for freedom and advancement. Lincoln lived and died in the battle for human liberty during his time. The highest honor we can pay Lincoln and the other patriots who went before and have gone after him living and dying for the same principles, is to see that they shall not have given their lives in vain.

"In a larger sense we can honor Lincoln only by doing in our day and age those things which will ensure the perpetuation of the ideals he lived and died for principles which are as old as the life of man, and which require eternal vigilance to protect and guard.

"Great changes have come to the people of the United States since 1858. Then there were but few settlers here in the middle states. The country was new and undeveloped; nearly all our people were poor or in moderate circumstances; savage tribes of Indians roamed the woods and prairies and our natural resources were practically undeveloped. Many of our now indispensable modern conveniences—the telephone, the auto, the radio—were then unknown.

"All industry was small, independent and competitive. There were no large organizations of labor or consolidations of capital in trade, industry or commerce. Neither were there any illegal combinations in trade, industry or commerce, such as we have today, which now seem to threaten the

very rights of the people to govern themselves under a Constitution intended to protect the weak and strong in all their liberties and rights.

"Never before in the history of the United States have there been more privilege-seekers knocking at the door of Congress in Washington demanding the enactment of legislation which would confer upon them special favors such as our local, state and national legislative bodies have been conferring upon certain organized groups, which has enriched the few at the expense of many to such an extent that for many years unorganized agriculture has been crying for relief and the restoration of that equality of opportunity contemplated by the Constitution.

"Now, before unveiling this statue and memorial of the great Lincoln and Douglas debate let us turn our minds and thoughts to the conditions of 71 years ago and make some comparisons.

"Then 15,000 pioneer settlers abandoned their daily struggle for a livelihood and came to Freeport afoot, in ox-carts, lumber wagons, slow trains, old-fashioned stage coaches to hear Lincoln, the country lawyer, and Douglas, the noted orator, debate the burning issue of that day, of whether or not slavery should be restricted or abandoned.

"Today great throngs have come in ease and comfort, in your Lincolns, your Fords and Chevrolets, by aeroplane, by fast express and mail trains, in luxurious Pullman cars, from the east and west, north and south, to honor and pay your

respect to the memory, deeds and works of two of the greatest characters in our history. It is well that we do this, bearing in mind that we honor them for their devotion to their country and that from their example we can derive lessons for our own guidance. We should all try to realize that if we would not allow government of the people, by the people and for the people to perish from the earth we must not slumber, but instead must remember that 'eternal vigilance is the price of liberty.'

"And now to the young men and women of Freeport and Stephenson County, I hope that you and they will adopt Abraham Lincoln as your ideal and model, and that under all circumstances you will have that well developed sense of justice and that courage of conviction to conform the conduct of your lives to his high ideals and standards of truth, love, honesty, sacrifice, service, patriotism and devotion to principles and that under all circumstances you will never compromise where questions of principle are involved.

"I hope that the generations that come after us will remember the real Lincoln; remember that he was poor; that he struggled against terrific odds; that he had principles and convictions he held more dear than financial success, than political office or even the regard of his fellow citizens; that he was denounced as a 'radical' and a 'revolutionary' for fighting for the rights of human beings; that he was driven from public office, for a time,

because he had the courage to oppose the Mexican War which he believed was fought for selfish ends; that he was considered by many to be a failure at middle life because he declined to compromise his principles in order to become a United States senator; and that the world honors and reveres him today, not because he was President, but because he was the courageous, far-visioned leader in his generation of the forces that led the advance of human progress.

“He was a man who followed the precept:
‘This above all; to thine own self be true,
And it must follow as the night the day,
Thou canst not then be false to any man.’

“I respectfully present this statue to the people of Stephenson County and the state of Illinois, in the belief that it may be an inspiration to the youth now living and to come, to follow the path of Lincoln, a man who fought special privilege, believed in human liberty as the greatest achievement of the race, never compromised his principles, and yet whose whole life was an embodiment of his own phrase ‘with malice toward none and with charity for all.’

“Before closing I desire to express my sincere appreciation to all who have done so much to make this occasion a memorable one:

“1. To Leonard Crunelle, the sculptor, for his masterly piece of art.

“2. To the Lincoln-Douglas society, Mr. Jackson, and our employees for their generous and untiring efforts for so many weeks.

“3. To Mr. Fred L. Holmes, Mr. Albert O. Barton, the historical societies, Lincoln authorities and collectors for their invaluable aid.

“4. To Senator Norris, Dr. Burgstahler, Dr. Hill, the delegation representing the Legislature of Wisconsin, the other delegations and visitors from distant parts.

“5. To those who heard the debate 71 years ago, for their presence, which has added so much to this occasion.

“6. Lastly, but by no means least, the citizens, friends and neighbors of Freeport, Stephenson and Ogle Counties, and others, who by their labor, assistance and cooperation have done so much to make this a great day for Freeport.”

THE STATUE

By LEONARD CRUNELLE, Designer

"In designing the statue of Lincoln the debater, the aim has been to recapture the Lincoln of the period of his joint debates with Douglas, before he became President and belonged to the nation, and while he was still one with the plain people of Illinois. The statue is unlike other statues of Lincoln in that it represents him in an earlier period of his life, in mid-manhood, before the cares and responsibilities of the presidency had sobered and saddened his spirit and his countenance. At the time of his debates with Douglas, Lincoln was the active and successful lawyer, eager, keen, shrewd, watchful of opportunities to win his case or baffle his opponent. The statue represents him at this time of his life, with a serious look, as if impressed with the importance of the great issue of the hour. It is intended to portray Lincoln as he was at the time, the keen logician and debater, but a very human and natural being, sprung from the same stock as the people and neighbors all about him.

"Lincoln is represented in the dress of the period and there is a suggestion of unrest in the form of the coat worn. The challenger of the great Douglas is about to speak. While the pose suggests action, it is a natural one which will not tire the onlooker. It is not artificial in design or setting, and fits in naturally with the park and trees."

Address

HON. EDWARD E. LAUGHLIN

*County Judge, Accepting Statue in Behalf of
People of Stephenson County*

"To me has been assigned the signal honor of speaking for the people of Stephenson County, to-day. To have any part in this notable event is indeed a privilege and I count it an added privilege to speak for the people of Stephenson County.

"Mr. Rawleigh, we, the people of Stephenson County, accept this statue as a manifestation of your public spirit and your continued interest in us, your friends and neighbors, and we thank you for this gift. To us, the immortal Lincoln stands forth as the greatest man of all time, not only of the state of Illinois or of these United States, but of the entire world. His life of service; his perseverance in what he believed to be the right; his trust in divine guidance to see the right and his concern and interest in the welfare of all the people, have set him apart among great men as the greatest.

"We trust that this memorial may serve as a shrine around which our youth may gather, and serve to keep afresh in their hearts and minds the life and words of this great man; that it may serve as the model by which they shall strive to fashion their lives, and help them to build into their characters, honesty, integrity, courage and the many other noble attributes of this man; that they may

learn from this life the lesson of charity for their fellow man and unselfish service for the common good of all; that they may more fully appreciate the truth that the great man does not live for self alone and that he who has so lived has been of no benefit to the world in which he has spent his allotted time, but that the truly great are those who have given of the best of their lives in service for others.

"To receive this gift from our friend and neighbor, who from a humble beginning has by his tireless and unceasing efforts builded the immense business which he now controls and operates, is especially pleasing to us; a man who, though heavily weighted with his own business cares, has ever kept his interest in the welfare of his community; a man who in the past gave of his time to serve this city as its mayor, and whose record there may well stand as an example to his successors; a man who has served this district honorably and ably in the state legislature, and whose keen interest still continues in the affairs of his city, county, state and nation.

"Receiving this gift from such a man is greatly appreciated by the people of Stephenson County, and again, Mr. Rawleigh, we thank you."

Address of
DR. HERBERT J. BURGSTAHLER
President Cornell College, Mt. Vernon, Iowa

"We celebrate today an outstanding event of American history. Great movements almost universally begin in what seem at the time rather incidental episodes. The debate which took place here seventy-one years ago was the genesis of a movement which did more to emphasize the equality of all men than any other similar episode in the history of America. When Abraham Lincoln propounded his famous question to Douglas, 'Can the people of a United States territory in any lawful way, against the wish of any citizen of the United States, exclude slavery from its limits prior to formation of a state constitution?' he asked a question which resulted in, first, bringing the slave question to the forefront of the thinking of the American people; second, bringing clearly before America the sacredness of all human personality; third, a movement which resulted ultimately in the breakdown of the then Democratic party; fourth, in the building of the Republican party upon a solid foundation of moral principles.

"Abraham Lincoln had been a character of statewide influence for some time. He had not risen to the height of national influence in any large degree up to this time. His famous debate with Douglas here on this spot brought him into national pre-eminence, indeed it was the pro-

pounding of the above question which made for the defeat of Douglas for the presidency of the United States and for the ultimate election of Abraham Lincoln. We are therefore celebrating today one of the greatest episodes in our national life. We are celebrating it most auspiciously. Nothing could be more appropriate than the erecting of this noble monument to America's greatest statesman on the very date of one of America's greatest debates. I congratulate Freeport upon having been the center of so great a beginning; and upon having a citizen in the person of Mr. W. T. Rawleigh who is so patriotic in his spirit and so appreciative of this great event that he contributes this representation of Abraham Lincoln.

"Why This Auspicious Event? There can be only one answer, and that answer is Abraham Lincoln. It was he who initiated this debate. When we have said this there is still left a greater question, 'What made Abraham Lincoln America's greatest statesman?' If we can answer this question aright we get at the basis of all great statesmanship. I could not possibly cover the many fundamental reasons underlying Abraham Lincoln's statesmanship. I will, however, state what I think are a few of the great fundamentals.

He Was a Man of Elemental Integrity

"This characteristic seems axiomatic. We have heard so many times of his conveying the extra ounces of tea to the patron six miles away that

we are tempted to smile when we hear any speaker relate the episode. I could today present many other episodes which indicate more perfectly this characteristic of the man we today honor. Perhaps his 'National Debt' as he called it, coming out of the deceit of his merchant partner, Berry, as also out of the refusal of the Trent Brothers to whom he sold his mercantile business to pay, is a less familiar but even more telling episode. He spent many years defraying this debt for which he was not responsible, but his honor was so great that he refused to permit his creditors to lose a cent of the money which he had underwritten. In addressing young attorneys, he said, 'Resolve to be honest at all times.' Lincoln could not bear implied dishonesty. He felt that Douglas was lacking in honor. For that reason he disliked him. He felt that Douglas' popular sovereignty principle was pure expediency. Douglas said, 'If Kansas wants a slave state constitution she has a right to it. It is none of my business which way the slavery question is decided. I care not whether it is voted up or down.' When Douglas discovered that his Freeport doctrine of popular sovereignty was looked upon with disfavor by the southern states, he made a tour of the South in which he declared that he was not interested in slavery. On the sugar plantations of Louisiana he said it was not a question between the white man and the negro but between the negro and the crocodile. He would say that between the negro and crocodile he would take the

part of the negro, but that between the negro and the white man he would take the part of the white man. The Almighty had drawn a line on this continent on the one side of which the soil must be cultivated by slave labor, on the other side by white labor. This kind of political strategy Lincoln could not tolerate. He was a man of fundamental integrity. 'Victory at any price' was not his slogan. It is this kind of Lincoln honesty that politics needs today more than anything else. A moral sensitiveness to truth, to honor, that is the fundamental requirement today if the Lincoln type of statesmanship is to motivate American politics.

"He did not build on political sand. He did not have his ear to the ground that he might pick up superficial popular opinion and then take the side of what seemed to be surface majority mindedness. This was the kind of political ephemeralism which played no part in his political make-up. In his letter to a Kansas friend, May 14, 1859, he wrote, 'You will probably adopt resolutions in the nature of a platform. I think the only temptation will be to lower the Republican standard in order to gather recruits. In my judgment such a step would be a serious mistake.' To Schuyler Colfax, afterwards vice-president, he said in a letter dated July 6, 1859, 'The point of danger is the temptation in different localities to platform for something which will be popular just there, but which will nevertheless be a firebrand elsewhere. We want and must have,' said he, 'a national policy as

to slavery which deals with it as being wrong.' Memorable among his many statements is this one, 'Let us have faith that right makes might and in that faith let us to the end dare to do our duty as we understand it.' This characteristic of building political structure on fundamental rock principle was evident when he was in the legislature as well as afterwards. A committee resolved the right of property in slaves to the slave-holding states by the Federal Constitution. Lincoln and Dan Stone, his colleague, protested against this resolution, as follows, 'We believe that the institution of slavery is founded on both injustice and bad policy.'

"Again, my friends, we get at a basic principle of Lincoln's superior statesmanship, *principle rule*; from principle he would not deviate.

"Henry Churchill King, in one of his works, coined the phrase 'the sacredness of human personality.' Abraham Lincoln was absolutely committed to the equality of all men. He believed that the colored man had a soul. He said, 'He who would be no slave, must consent to have no slave.' Jefferson Davis at one time stated, 'We want nothing more than a simple declaration that negro slaves are property.' Such a statement would arouse in Abraham Lincoln righteous indignation. Such sophistry as the Dred Scott decision and the Nebraska Bill brought forth in Lincoln the expression of those inherent qualities of righteousness which led him to head a great movement for the complete abolition of slavery. He believed in Jesus' commandment 'that you love one another.'

"He was not a narrow Chauvinist. He did not wish sectionalism. He believed that a law which was good for one part of America was good for the rest. In his 'house divided against itself' speech, we remember he said, 'A house divided against itself cannot stand. I believe this government cannot endure permanently half slave and half free. I do not expect the Union to be dissolved,—I do not expect the house to fall,—but I do expect it will cease to be divided.' It was this universal mindedness, coupled with a progressive spirit, that made Lincoln a superior statesman.

"I have in this cursory way, presented a few of the fundamental principles which made for Lincoln's greatness. We need today more Lincolns. How can we develop them? The business of the public schools is to develop these fundamental principles which I have here enunciated in the lives of our young men and women so that they too will stand pre-eminently for great political verities when great issues come to their attention. It is particularly the business of the college today to develop great political statesmen. I feel confident that this occasion will result in the stimulation of real progressivism built on fundamental principles of integrity and righteousness on the part of scores of young men and women who will lead tomorrow. May this statue of Lincoln ever symbolize to the youth who tomorrow hold the torch of leadership those great qualities which made Lincoln the master statesman of the ages."

Address of
DR. JOHN WESLEY HILL
Chancellor of Lincoln Memorial University

"Great leaders are priceless. Their thoughts and deeds are the richest heritage of humanity. History is the story of their epochal deeds; civilization, the lengthening shadow of their exalted souls. Serving most, they are the greatest.

"Victor Hugo says, 'The ideal of the human mind is the summit toward which man ascends and God descends.' In every age a few men of genius undertake the ascent. From below the world watches them. 'How small they are' says the crowd, but on they go through storm and cloud and night until they reach the summit where they catch great secrets from the lips of God. They appear in the providential order and in a fundamental sense they are prophets. No two prophets ever came upon exactly the same mission. They do not appear in the same robe nor work in the same role. One comes as a patriarch like Abraham; another as a law-giver like Moses; another as a statesman like Pericles; another as a philosopher like Plato; another as an apostle like Paul; another as a diplomat like Richelieu; another as a revolutionist like Cromwell; and another as an emancipator like Abraham Lincoln, the greatest mere man who has walked beneath the stars for six thousand years.

"The workmen on the Parthenon were so blinded by the dust of the blocks at which they were chiselling, they could not see the full symmetry and magnificence of the temple that sprang from the great brain of Ictinus and crowned the hills of Athens. The passing centuries have gazed upon that deathless courage.

"We are so near the period in which Lincoln wrought that even now our eyes are so dimmed by the dust of that great crisis that we cannot fully measure the oceanic soul of the great emancipator. As the crystal globe of his character slowly revolves before us we can see the intermingling of those great qualities which were wrought into the warp and woof of his life: Meekness without stupidity; patience without indolence; courage without rashness; caution without fear; reason without infidelity; faith without supervision; justice without vindictiveness; piety without parade; statesmanship without sensation and progress without revolution.

"Lincoln is at last pedestalled in the Westminster Abbey of universal love. When a man fails to receive the homage of his fellows while he lives, but following his decease he is the object of ever increasing appreciation and applause, it is evidence that he did not receive his dues while he lived. Post mortem tribute is only back pay. The centuries are the priests which anoint the kings of humanity. Time is essential to the true perspective. The grave is the dark room where the soul's

negative finds the time necessary to the development of the perfect photograph. Lincoln has grown more since his translation than any other man in the history of the world.

"What is the secret of his ever enlarging influence and personality? It is not found in his statesmanship, nor in his oratory, nor in his amazing common sense. Hamilton was probably a greater statesman; Webster his superior as an orator; while Benjamin Franklin was the incomparable philosopher whose abiding trade mark is found in his superlative common sense. What then is the secret of Lincoln's enlarging place in world history?

"I think it is this: When a man discerns, grasps and appropriates the purpose which the Infinite projects into the period in which he lives, he is lifted into immortality by the sublimity and divinity of that ideal. Copernicus is enthroned in the astronomic universe, Plato in the philosophic, Darwin in the biologic. Lincoln's throne is not in any one of these. The ideal which he discerned was not revealed in the material or philosophic, but in the human. He became an interpreter of spiritual law. He caught the divine thought in relation to humanity. He did not delve into rocks and fossils, but rather into those things involving the spiritual life of the world, liberty, equality, honesty, neighborliness, kindness, courtesy, patience and good citizenship. Mankind may forget Copernicus and Plato and Darwin, but down

to the end of time humanity will read over and over again until the last page of history is written the simple story of the poverty and privation, the tears and tenderness, the pity and patience, the heroism and martyrdom of Abraham Lincoln.

"And what was the great thought with which Lincoln became identified, the principle which he discerned and to which he dedicated his life? It was the thought of the divine right of liberty in man. He not only discerned it, but he made it real by applying it to the political and social life of the nation. This was his great contribution to America and the world and that it was his contribution is evidenced by the fact that Lincoln and Liberty are interchangeable terms, that no one, certainly no American, can think of one without thinking of the other. This indeed is the very essence of our democracy, that equality of opportunity is actualized and that because Lincoln thought and wrought, struggling in the forum no less than in the hall of legislation and in the White House, this dream of brotherhood has so fully dawned upon America that she has become the asylum of the world, the haven to which the oppressed from the ends of the earth draw nigh and rejoice in the hope of a brotherhood built upon the Declaration of Independence and guaranteed to every man clothed with the dignity and responsibilities of American citizenship.

"It was Lincoln's discernment of this divine right of liberty in men that nerved and strength-

ened him for that great epoch in which he was the most conspicuous figure. It was this which became to him a sort of religion that inspired him to strip slavery of its economic and political aspects and try it in the crucible of justice. Others might discuss the surface phases, but to Lincoln it was a question of right or wrong.

"In his Cooper Union speech he declared: 'If slavery is right, all words, acts, laws and constitutions against it are themselves wrong and should be silenced and swept away. If it is right we cannot justly object to its universality. All the advocates of slavery ask we could readily grant if we thought slavery right. All we ask they could readily grant if they thought it wrong.' These axiomatic declarations lifted the slavery controversy out of mere sectional and partisan contention to the lofty heights of pure morality. The politicians of the day did not take to this plain setting forth of the truth. A moral crisis was at hand. Every phase of expediency, every shade of selfishness, every species of political sophistry, every sanction of tradition and theology were invoked to escape the issue which was at hand.

"At the nation's capital the book of the old order was closing while upon the plains of Illinois a prophetic scroll was unrolling as yet inscrutable to all save the quaint, gaunt men of the prairies. The hour had struck for a shuffling of the dry bones of democracy. Once and for all the least and humblest, the most simple and unpretentious of

men was to dispel the illusion that knowledge is confined to books, wisdom to schools, power to patronage and right to might. Once and for all he was to prove the reality of mystical intuitions and spiritual illumination. Once and for all he was to demonstrate the omnipotence of truth, the power of prayer and the reign of the Eternal.

“One gladiator of the old order remained unmoved and unperturbed in the dawn of the new order. Stephen A. Douglas, with his Roman mien and Athenian polish and grand manner, master of invective, fluent, bold, magnetic and popular, stood as a modern Goliath for the defence of the extension and preservation of the institution of slavery.

“Lincoln measured swords with him. It was a contest between liberty and bondage, reason and rhetoric, progress and decadence, right and wrong. The epochal debate memorialized here today in bronze was the beginning of the end of the struggle against slavery and for freedom. Douglas was pyrotechnic, Lincoln as steady as the polar star. Douglas was replete with derision, equivocation and satire. Lincoln was as accurate as a compass, as illuminating as a sunbeam, as simple as truth and as inspiring as daybreak. Douglas stood upon the old Dred Scott decision in his advocacy of Squatter Sovereignty. With the sledge-hammer blow of irresistible logic, Lincoln shattered the structure of Douglas’ argument by showing that it involved the absurdity that the people had a right to drive away that which had a right to stay.

The little giant shrivelled to a pygmy in the grip of the man of steel.

"My fellow citizens, the memory of that titanic struggle is passing; but few remain who were eye witnesses to the combat. It is well that we mark this spot where the issue was fought to a finish by the giants who contested every inch of soil in that thrilling struggle, that unborn generations may not forget the price of liberty and the fierce conflict through which it advanced. Today we are in a new era. America has stepped from isolation into the infinitude of world-wide relations. George Washington advised us to beware of entangling alliances, but that was in our infancy when the problem of self government had not been solved. Today we are a world power. Where Uncle Sam sits is the head of the table and wherever our flag is unfurled it is greeted as the symbol of a mighty nation's power. Lincoln's face is reflected in that flag. It is his one indestructible memorial, the flag of a reunited nation.

"We have passed far beyond the period in which Lincoln wrought but we cannot outlive the principles for which he lived and died. His spiritual leadership is the greatest inspiration of America. He is not a historic phantom, but a living, moving, inspiring personality. His voice is still heard calling to America and America is answering as in the 60's 'We are coming, Father Abraham,' not with bayonets of steel but bayonets that

think, with ideals inspired by Lincoln's restlessness forregnancy in the republic he saved.

"These ideals are essential to our national life. What are they? Government of the people, for and by the people, the integrity of the Constitution, the maintenance of law and liberty, equal opportunity before the law, life, liberty, property, religious freedom and the pursuit of happiness; the application of the Golden Rule in the settlement of industrial disputes, 'a just and lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations,' and the solution of every problem 'with malice toward none and charity for all,' and with 'firmness in the right as God gives us to see the right.'

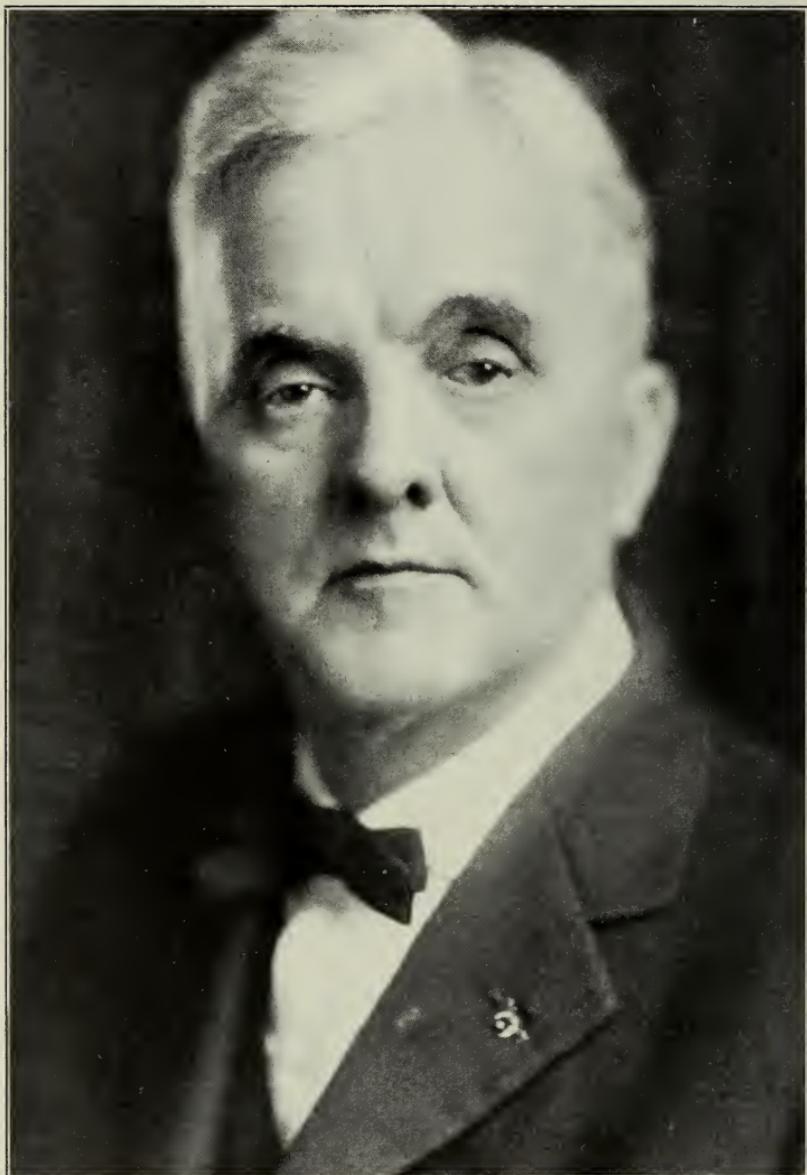
"There is nothing obsolete in these articles of faith. They are instinct with life, applicable to conditions today and adapted to all time, not iridescent baubles of political vacuity, but a body of faith which is the cornerstone of our national greatness.

"My friends, there has never been a time in our history when we stood in such need of the ideals of Lincoln as now. Never a time where there is such occasion for the application of the principles of Lincoln to our national life. There must be no garbling of his words, no mutilation of his thoughts, no misapplication of his principles, but such a renaissance of all that he thought and taught as shall bring a new birth of freedom to America and turn us as a nation upon the Lincoln Highway of peace, progress and prosperity. We

are at the forks of the road. Upon one side floats the flag of the Union. Upon the other the skull and cross bones of lawlessness and anarchy. Above us are the highlands, below the lowlands of crass, godless, hopeless materialism. To the left the jutting rocks of destruction, to the right the ascending stairway of national honor, righteousness and 'peace among ourselves and with all nations,' and ringing down from the heights can we not hear the voice of Lincoln as at Gettysburg still pleading for our national rebirth to the end, that 'government of the people, for and by the people shall not perish from the earth'?"

LINCOLN'S EXAMPLE AS A GUIDE

THE main address at the unveiling was given by Hon. George W. Norris, United States Senator from Nebraska. Senator Norris is the most conspicuous progressive leader in the senate and exemplifies in his public service the ideals of Lincoln. He addressed himself to the theme of Lincoln's example in public life, and was widely quoted in the press from coast to coast.



SENATOR GEORGE W. NORRIS OF NEBRASKA
Principal orator at the dedication ceremonies when Lincoln, the Debater, was presented to the citizens of Freeport and Stephenson County by Hon. W. T. Rawleigh.

CHAPTER II

LINCOLN'S EXAMPLE AS A GUIDE

Address of
HON. GEORGE W. NORRIS
United States Senator from Nebraska

"We are assembled in this historic spot to pay a grateful nation's homage and respect to the greatest statesman of modern times. Everywhere in civilization the name of Abraham Lincoln is emblematic of human freedom. Under his leadership the cruel shackles of human bondage were stricken from the bleeding limbs of a subjugated race. History has enshrined his name as the great leader who put civilization's stamp of disapproval upon the centuries-old claim that it was right in the sight of God and man for the flesh and blood of human beings to be the subject of barter and sale in the commercial transactions of men.

"When our Revolutionary fathers rebelled from the mother country and formed this nation they were performing the greatest governmental experiment ever undertaken in the history of the world. In order to reach any conclusion in the establishment of the new Government it was necessary that great compromises should be made. While the Government formed under these circumstances was far in advance of anything which

had theretofore existed and was the greatest step in human progress ever taken in the history of the world, yet some of the elements of tyranny and oppression still remained, unsettled and unsolved.

"Of these evils, the Constitution recognized and protected the canker-demon, slavery, with its outstretched hands grasping at the very vitals of the nation and sapping therefrom the lifeblood of the Union. It was reserved for the heroes of a later day to drive this cruel monster from our shores and to give to the people a government free from the contaminating influence of this—the greatest evil that ever disgraced a nation's history.

"It is said that in ancient times a certain King undertook to erect a monument which should be an emblem of his greatness upon the field of battle. Out of solid marble, in the image of the King, the statue was carved, and it remained only to raise it to its solid foundation. He set aside a certain day as a legal holiday for the erection of the monument and invited all his subjects to be present and witness the spectacle. When the day arrived, thousands of his people from all parts of his kingdom came together at the appointed place to assist in placing the statue upon its foundation. Ropes were fastened and seized by hundreds of willing hands. When the great monument, in the likeness of the King, was raised from off the earth and was suspended beneath the Heavens, it was discovered that the dry and unused ropes were giving way. In this exciting moment, what was to be done? It

was now impossible to let the monument back and to pull farther would break the ropes and the statue would be broken and ruined in its fall. The breathless silence was at last broken by a clear, sweet voice which rang out upon the air with the exclamation 'Wet the ropes!' Immediately water was brought, the ropes were moistened, and the mighty statue was raised to its solid foundation, uninjured and unharmed.

"The people of this country decided to erect a monument as emblematic of liberty. It was to stand upon the grave of state sovereignty, dedicated to human freedom. For years some of our leading citizens had been educating public sentiment and moulding it into proper shape. In 1861 the sculptor's work was finished and it remained only to place the monument upon its solid foundation. When it was partially raised and was suspended between heaven and earth, the startling discovery was made that the ropes were breaking. In this emergency, when wise men hesitated, when leaders faltered, when politicians stumbled, when patriotic women prayed for divine help, there was one clear voice which rang out upon the air with the command, 'Wet the ropes.' It was the voice of the immortal Lincoln which reverberated from lake to river and from ocean to ocean; and, in answer to his cry, there came from the workshops of New England and from the farms of the West a million brave and patriotic men who, with their own loyal blood, wet the ropes. Again that voice was heard,

and, with one united, patriotic effort, the monument was placed upon its solid foundation where we believe it is to remain as long as human liberty is held sacred, as long as human love is divine.

"The progress of civilization is always slow. Its history is a continuous contest between those who would give greater power of government into the hands of the people and those who are opposed to change. It is human nature that men endowed with power will struggle to the utmost before surrendering any of it. The natural thing for those having power over their fellows is to stretch their authority to the limit and to reach out with greedy hands for more and more power over the control of their fellow beings.

"Originally, in the days of barbarism, the King was supreme. His subjects were slaves. He had the right to take the life of anyone without being held accountable for the act. As the people became better educated and more intelligent they resented the tyranny of unjust rulers and they struggled to take into their own hands more of the power of government. This has brought about a continuous contest between those entrusted with power, seeking to retain it, and those who were suffering from tyranny, trying to take the power away from unjust rulers and to place it in the hands of the people themselves. Some of these contests have been settled upon the field of battle. Some, more recently, have been settled by a peaceful means. The history of the overthrow of slavery is a glar-

ing instance of one of the greatest steps ever taken in human progress. It may be greater than any other one. It is emblematic and illustrative of them all.

"In the present stage of civilized society it is difficult to see how anyone could ever defend, anywhere at any time, this unjust and cruel method of keeping human beings in bondage. We wonder now how anyone human could have ever tolerated or defended such an iniquitous, barbarous practice, and yet the sacrifices made to rid the world of this demon are far beyond the scope of human imagination to fully comprehend. For every drop of blood drawn by slavery's lash there has been sacrificed millions more of the blood of innocent men who died upon the field of battle.

"It is difficult to understand sometimes why nature demands such terrible sacrifices to right human wrongs. A great poet has said :

'How truly the course of nature tells,
By its small heed of earthly suffering,
That it was fashioned for a happier world.'
But such is the law, which, with immutable force,
has always governed the progress of civilization.

"In every great struggle, after victory has been attained and a step in progress has been made, it is found that special interests have taken advantage of conditions for their own selfish enrichment, and, while the main object has been accomplished, many new evils have crept into the governmental fabric.

"The incentive for such things is the almost natural desire for financial enrichment. In fact, it is historically true to say that most of the wars of history have been brought on, either directly or indirectly, by the desire of some powerful special class or classes to enrich themselves at the sacrifice and disadvantage of their fellow men. If there had been no financial profit in the ownership of human flesh and blood, there would have been no slavery. If there had been no slavery, the Civil War never would have been part of our history.

"The rivalry of nations, controlled by men desirous of making money through trade and commerce, has resulted in the establishment of huge armies and in an international race for larger navies. If we could take the profit out of war we would have taken the greatest possible step toward universal and international peace. If there were no profit in preparing for war this universal, international armament race would be unknown.

"We have recently passed through a World War, the greatest in all history,—a war which, we were made to believe, was fought to forever end war, and yet, ten years after its close, we find the nations of the world, our nation among the rest, spending more money in preparation for war than ever before. Our Government is now spending, annually, more money in preparing for future wars than was ever spent in any twenty years of peace before the World War.

"The nations of the world have recently signed a universal treaty outlawing war and agreeing never, in the future, to resort to war for the settlement of any international dispute; and yet, in the face of this agreement, we are recklessly going forward, during times of profound peace, spending more money annually for a bigger Army and a bigger Navy, which, we foolishly say, is done as an insurance of peace. The aim, it is claimed, is to build a Navy and establish an Army so great, so powerful, that no other nation, through fear alone, would think of fighting us. This means that we desire to maintain peace by frightening other nations in regard to our preparedness and our strength. The fallacy of this doctrine is that this great race is participated in by all the other nations and that every other great nation is doing the same as we are doing.

"One of the causes of war, and the greatest cause of the great World War, was this universal preparation for war. Each nation seems compelled to outstrip every other nation, all the time professing peaceful intentions. History shows that continual preparation for war will bring on war. If the world continues to arm itself, no matter what its proclamations for peace may be, the inevitable war will follow.

"A great nation ought to set an example to the world, and, in order to make it possible to make such an example effective, it ought to announce that even in the preparation for war there

shall be no private profit, gain or enrichment; that the weapons of human destruction, if they must be made, will be prepared by the Government; that naval vessels will be built in Government naval yards; and that private corporations and private monopoly shall have no opportunity to be enriched by the expenditure of these vast sums of money. If our nation took this stand, the universal propaganda for a larger Army and a bigger Navy would disappear. If the civilized world once knew that America was taking such a step, this universal race for military supremacy would vanish as the dew fades before the morning sun.

"But the greed of monopoly is not confined to war, and the profit which monopoly makes out of war is in turn used to control Government in all other directions. This was well understood by the immortal Lincoln and he many times expressed his fear that the immense wealth of individuals and corporations accruing from war would be used in time of peace to oppress the people.

"In the days of Washington millionaires were unknown, and even in the days of Lincoln combinations and monopoly had not publicly shown their power and their influence. But one of the great evils which always springs from war is the enrichment of individuals and corporations which profit by war. You cannot harvest a crop of millionaires without making an army of paupers.

"Wealth, when combined in immense quantities, is always a stumbling block in the advance-

ment of civilization. Combinations and trusts formed for profit can bring in their wake a new kind of slavery. Under the leadership of Abraham Lincoln we abolished human slavery, but, since that day, there have grown up in our country powerful combinations and monopolies which were unheard of then. There never was a time in the history of our country when combined wealth possessed the power over government which it possesses today. Economic slavery is the ultimate result of complete combination of money, and economic slavery is as cruel, as merciless, and as effective as slavery based upon the color of the human skin.

"When combinations of wealth control our politics and our political parties, the common people are forgotten and the power of wealth looks only to the happiness, contentment and enrichment of those in control. When monopoly controls the policies of our great political parties, the slavery which Lincoln abolished shows itself along other lines and in other ways. It eventually controls government in all its branches. It names the appointees for thousands of our important offices. It controls the sources of information and the political machinery which governs elections.

"The man who is compelled to toil against his wish and contrary to his will is a slave, even though his skin may be white. We have seen, in recent years, Federal judges who were appointed in most cases through the mighty influence of wealth to

positions of unlimited power, for life, issuing injunctions in labor disputes, which, in effect, bring about involuntary servitude. These injunctions have denied access to the courts. They have denied to toiling masses the rights which are essential to human freedom. The tyranny of some of these injunctions, in their effect, reminds us of the days when slavery was recognized by our Constitution.

“We did not hesitate, when the time came, to change the Constitution so as to abolish slavery based upon the color of the individual; and the time will soon come when we must, by constitutional amendment, take away the life tenure of office of men appointed to the Judiciary through the influence of partisan political machines.

“The spirit of Lincoln still lives, and it is sufficient to lead the people to change our fundamental law so as to abolish any form of involuntary servitude regardless of the conditions upon which it is based. Not only will an enlightened and civilized people demand that all forms of slavery shall be abolished, but they will likewise demand that every citizen's voice shall be heard in the selection of a Chief Magistrate and that political machines and selfish combinations of wealth shall be dethroned in their unlimited power which our political practices have given them in the selection of our President.

“When our forefathers framed the Constitution they were engaged, as I have said, in a govern-

mental experiment. They were taking away from the King some of his power and giving it to the people, and yet they hesitated as to how far they should go in this step. Therefore, they provided that the President should be elected by an electoral college. It was intended that the presidential electors should exercise a discretion in the selection of a Chief Magistrate, but, from long practice, step by step, political machines have gained control and adopted methods in the selection of the President which deprive the ordinary citizen of any participation in that—the most important step of our Government.

“The electoral college provided for in the Constitution stands in the way of complete enjoyment of freedom by the electorate. It is a useless, unnecessary and hampering step in giving to the people the freedom which our forefathers intended they should have and the freedom which Lincoln, in his day, struggled to attain.

“The abolishment of the electoral college by a proper amendment to the Constitution of the United States, giving to the people the freedom of the ballot, is a necessary step which must and will be taken when the people realize that it stands between them and complete freedom of citizenship.

“The ordinary citizen has nothing to say as to who shall be President. The National Conventions, as everyone knows, are controlled by political combinations and partisan, political machinery. Special interests, able to supply money for

the sinews of a political campaign, are dominant, and such a thing as electing an independent candidate for President, under our political system, is possible only in theory but absolutely impossible in practice.

"The control of our Government by special interests is the glaring obstacle standing in the way of a government 'of the people, by the people, for the people.' In fact, if Lincoln were alive today and engaged in a national contest he would be denounced as a bolshevist for uttering these memorable words—words which are the foundation principle of every democracy. Monopoly would agree with Lincoln on one of these propositions, but would disagree with him on the other two. It would say, with Lincoln, 'government of the people,' but at that point it would part company. It would have a government of the people, by monopoly, for monopoly.

"Under a recent decision of our own Supreme Court, if the lowly Nazarene should return to earth, come to our shores and make application for citizenship, he would be denied on account of the doctrines of peace and righteousness which he advocated and for which he suffered death upon the Cross.

"These are evils of which it is not pleasant to complain, but there is no time more appropriate to call attention to them than when speaking of the virtues and the doctrines of the immortal Lincoln—the man whose heart and soul breathed the

freedom and the welfare of humanity, the man who stood for righteousness, for the poor as well as the rich, and who, if he were here in body as I hope he is in spirit, would be the leader to free men and women of his color as he was the leader in freeing men and women of a different color.

"The power and influence of monopoly in the control of our political and economic system has been recently very effectively shown by the investigation made by the Federal Trade Commission of the activities of the so-called Power Trust. The disclosures in this investigation have shocked the moral sensibilities of the Nation. The evidence produced demonstrates that the Power Trust is the greatest monopoly which has ever been put together by human ingenuity. With its sinister and selfish motives it has invaded the public schools. It has contaminated the colleges by indirectly bribing our professors. It has controlled the Legislatures of our States. It has attempted to buy seats in the United States Senate. It has approached the minister in the pulpit. It has browbeaten, purchased and contaminated the public press. It has not forgotten various social and economic organizations. It has sent its emissaries into women's clubs and into boy scout organizations. It has controlled secret, economic, political and religious societies. It has undertaken to control the election of judges and has spent millions of money in its various attempts to control political organizations and elections from road-overseer to President. It

has spent millions of dollars to build up a public sentiment favorable to its ideas on the ownership and control of public utilities. It has done all these things by secret, underhanded, dishonorable and unpatriotic methods. It was sufficiently powerful to prevent both of the great dominant political parties of the Nation from putting into their platforms any word of condemnation. Its emissaries have secretly over-run the country in its attempts to control all the activities of man, with the ultimate object of finally owning and controlling the generation and distribution of electric current over the entire United States. It has not hesitated to participate in all elections and to blacken the character and question the patriotism of every candidate or citizen and every organization which has dared to interfere with its program. Its ultimate aim is complete ownership and distribution of electric power.

"We are living in the dawn of an electric age. Electricity is becoming as common and as necessary in our homes as water. Every rippling stream which trickles down the mountain-side and flows through the meadows to the sea is capable of producing this unseen and but little understood element which man has called 'electricity.' This unseen but powerful element is fast becoming a necessary part of our civilization. It is necessary in the control and the management of all manufacturing establishments. It can turn the tireless wheels of industry in the greatest factory and, with

equal accuracy and precision, it can perform various and numberless household duties in the humblest homes. It relieves the drudgery of the house-wife. It performs the work of the laborer, the miner, the manufacturer, and all other branches of industry.

"If this necessity of human life is to be owned and controlled by monopoly, then the people will ultimately become the economic slaves of the owners of this modern necessity. In the main, it is developed from our natural resources. The streams which God fills with the rains and the snows from the mountain-sides, the coal placed by an all-wise Creator in the bowels of the earth, were intended for the comfort and the happiness of man; but this great monopoly is converting them into a private asset for private gain.

"A people who, under Lincoln, would not stand for the enslaving of the black race, will not permanently submit to the control and domination of a necessity of life by a private corporation for private gain. This great necessity of our existence, a part of the very sinews of our life and our civilization, must be taken to the factories and to the homes of our people without being loaded down with monopolistic costs and profits. It is rapidly becoming a part of our civilization and the will of an all-wise Creator in giving this blessing to mankind must not be perverted and used by private monopoly for private gain—for the subjugation and over-burdening of the people.

"What doth it profit if we strike the chains of slavery from the black man and then permit monopoly to forge the same chains upon millions of our own race?

"I make no complaint against wealth as such. I have no condemnation against the man who honestly acquires a vast fortune. It is the misuse of wealth that deserves our condemnation, and, when these vast fortunes are combined and re-combined in the form of trusts and monopolies, and when they undertake to control, for their own private gain, all the natural resources of the country, then it is time for a free people, if they would retain their freedom, to rise up in defense of their God-given rights. Economic slavery is as great an injustice, as cruel, as any political slavery ever established by man; and if, by the combination of vast amounts of wealth, the economic, the political, and the social functions of our race are controlled and dominated by those who own the combination, then those who are thus controlled are, in reality, slaves. When monopoly gets control of a necessity of life, especially when the necessity is derived from a natural resource which God has given to us all, then we are on the verge of an economic slavery which will crush to earth those who work and those who toil.

"Lincoln was not unaware of the dangers which monopoly would bring. He knew that one of the evil results of war was the amassing of immense fortunes and the building up of huge com-

binations of capital. He was a believer in the permanence of the Declaration of Independence, and he believed that that immortal document applied not only to Revolutionary days and to political tyranny, but that its declarations were equally aimed at monopolistic control at all times. He had great reverence for Jefferson, because Jefferson had put into the Declaration permanent assurance underlying a free government which, as Lincoln said, applied then as well as it applied in the days of the Revolution. In referring to these dangers and to the change of political leaders and political parties after they had gained office and power, he said :

“ ‘These expressions, differing in form, are identical in object and effect—the supplanting the principles of free government, and restoring those of classification, caste, and legitimacy. They would delight a convocation of crowned heads plotting against the people. They are the vanguard, the sappers and miners, of returning despotism. We must repulse them, or they will subjugate us.

“ ‘This is a world of compensations; and he who would *be* no slave must consent to *have* no slave. Those who deny freedom to others deserve it not for themselves; and, under a just God, cannot long retain it.

“ ‘All honor to Jefferson—to the man who, in the concrete pressure of a struggle for national independency by a single people, had the coolness, forecast, and capacity, to introduce into a merely revolutionary document, an abstract truth, appli-

cable to all men and all times, and so to embalm it there, that today and in all coming days it shall be a rebuke and a stumbling-block to the harbingers of reappearing tyranny and oppression.'

"Again, in a message to Congress, Lincoln said:

" 'Labor is the superior of capital, and deserves much the higher consideration. . . . Let them beware of surrendering a political power which they already possess, and which, if surrendered, will surely be used to close the door of advancement against such as they, and to fix new disabilities and burdens upon them, till all of liberty shall be lost.'

"That part of the Declaration of Independence which Lincoln seemed to love most and for which he gave particular praise to Jefferson was the part which, in his judgment, applied to our present day as well as to the days of the Revolution. It was the part which he denominated as the very origin of popular government. It reads as follows:

" 'We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed.'

"These words were the foundation cornerstone of Lincoln's philosophy. Boiled down, they

include just three things,—life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. These are the objects—the only objects—of government. They are as permanent as the heavens, and it was an interference with these rights that Lincoln, even in his day, feared might be brought about by monopoly and combinations of wealth. Since that day we have seen monopolies grow until, like a colossus, they now tower toward Heaven's canopy to such an extent that the danger which Lincoln feared confronts us. This danger is growing greater and getting nearer. I have no fear but that the patriotic people of the Nation will meet it as they have met every other danger which has ever confronted our Government.

"From the days of Lincoln many of our great leaders and political economists have pointed out this danger, and it has been suggested by them that the danger to our Government and our social fabric which comes from the amassing of such huge fortunes could be at least partially met by the enactment of a Federal progressive inheritance tax. But every effort to enact such a tax, which would curtail the evils of unreasonable wealth, has been strenuously fought by the same combinations and monopolies which have been growing in power and influence since the days of Lincoln.

"A progressive inheritance tax, properly drafted, giving liberal exemptions, is the least burdensome of any tax ever devised. It is inexpensive to operate. It makes its levies where they are the

least burdensome and, besides raising a large amount of revenue for the administration of the Government, it curtails and greatly eliminates the danger to government and society which comes from the amassing and combining of large fortunes. The inheritance tax ought to be so drafted that it would permit exemptions sufficient for the testator to provide for the comfort and even the luxury of those dependent upon him during his life, and then the rate should progressively advance so as to make it impossible for a human being to continue combination and monopoly beyond the term of his natural life.

"I have an abiding faith that all the great questions which confront us as a people will eventually be solved by the people and for the people; that the dangers of the future feared by Lincoln will be met by his descendants as fully and as patriotically as he and his advisors met the serious questions of government which confronted them in the dark days of the Civil War. We have his example. We have the benefit of his life. We have, I hope, in our hearts, his spirit, and, in this spirit, we will be faithful to the governmental doctrines for which he gave his life. We will profit by his example and follow his advice to the end that, in our own day, the prophetic words of the Savior of mankind will be exemplified and fulfilled: 'Ye shall know the truth and the truth will make you free'."

LINCOLN MAKES FREEPORT MILESTONE IN HISTORY

ACCOMPANYING the thousands of invitations that were sent out by the Lincoln-Douglas Society of Freeport was a little booklet which told in graphic language the historic significance of the Lincoln-Douglas debate at Freeport. It was written by Fred L. Holmes of Madison, Wis., who had spent years in a study of the famous Lincoln shrines. Because of the demand for this pamphlet, it has been incorporated as a part of this book.



"LINCOLN, 'THE DEBATER'"

A sympathetic conception of Lincoln as a son of the soil, at home in the outdoor surroundings in which it was placed. It represents Lincoln at the period of the debates, before the cares of the Presidency had lined his face.

CHAPTER III

LINCOLN MAKES FREEPORT A MILESTONE IN HISTORY

“THE FATE OF THE NATION WAS DECIDED AT FREEPORT THAT DAY”

By FRED L. HOLMES

Author of

“Abraham Lincoln Traveled This Way”

The curtain of seven decades and one year was lifted at Freeport, Illinois, on Tuesday, August 27, to reveal the bronze figure of the gaunt attorney, Abraham Lincoln, as he appeared to address a crowd of more than 15,000 people in a memorable debate with Stephen A. Douglas on the question of the day—state's rights and slavery.

Little did these two men dream of the full importance their political issue was to assume. Little did the people who gathered at Freeport on August 27, 1858, dream that the words spoken on that occasion were to foreshadow the fate of a nation through the centuries.

Freeport now marks a turning point in the career of Abraham Lincoln. It will stand through time as a milestone in the history of the American nation.

Freeport has taken its place among the hallowed spots where occurred a great event that raised aloft the banner of freedom. Time and her historians have placed this Illinois city beside Plymouth Rock, along with Independence Hall in Philadelphia and the Washington Chapel at Valley Forge.

The words spoken so solemnly, so prophetically by the country lawyer, Abraham Lincoln, at Freeport became the flush of a bloody dawn that was to marshal in the emancipation proclamation, to free 4,000,000 slaves, and culminate in the surrender of Lee at Appomattox in 1865, whence came the re-birth of a united nation.

"Here was sounded the keynote of a struggle," declared President Theodore Roosevelt, as he stood on Freeport's soil in 1903, "which after convulsing the nation, made it united and free."

Aside from the light thrown on the lives of Lincoln and Douglas by speakers at the unveiling of the heroic statue of Abraham Lincoln—the gift of W. T. Rawleigh to the city of Freeport—the drama turned back the pages of a mighty past.

There were assembled the thinned ranks of survivors who were privileged to hear one or the other of the debates between Lincoln and Douglas seventy-one years before. Of the thousands gathered none appreciated this anniversary so much as did they.

Upon the broad canvas of their eventful and changing lives they pictured the events which led

to the historic debates. For forty years before the Civil War, the slavery issue had been the predominant note in American politics. Sometimes the antagonism would slumber for a few years and then flare up unexpectedly, like a rocket in the night. Slavery was a thing tolerated but not condoned by the North. The Missouri Compromise of 1820 had prohibited slavery north of the Missouri line. But the annexation of Texas in 1845 and the Mexican War, foreboding the extension of slavery by the South, aroused deeper feelings of hostility throughout the North. Abolition societies sprang up. Church organizations in the South and border states became divided. Old political parties fell into disrepute and decay. New leaders and new parties came into existence.

Southern men talked openly and boldly of secession. There were times when it seemed that the nation would be split—slave states in the South and free states in the North. To avert this threatened crisis, Clay and Webster, Cass and Houston joined in the Compromise of 1850. It left the Missouri free line untouched; abolished the slave trade in the District of Columbia; but enacted a stringent fugitive slave law, which so exasperated the North as to plant afresh the seeds of contention.

"I never expect to see the slavery question opened again," declared Senator Douglas, a representative from Illinois in the United States Senate, when the Compromise was passed. Yet it was

Douglas who opened the whole troublesome issue four years later.

Following the rapid development of the Mississippi valley, settlers pushed back the frontier across the fertile prairies of the present states of Nebraska and Kansas. Rich lands beckoned the home-seeker. The Northern people insisted that these were free areas because they were north of the Missouri demarcation line agreed upon in the compromise law of 1820. Southerners claimed the right to take slaves into new territory. In 1854 Senator Douglas of Illinois introduced the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, creating two separate territories. Into the proposed legislation he introduced his "popular sovereignty" doctrine—leaving it to the people of a territory to decide by popular vote on becoming a state, whether slavery should be allowed or prohibited. This wiped out the Missouri quarantine line; opened the territory of both North and South to the menace of slavery and placed no confines upon its advancement, but the will of an electorate. But those were the days of "ruffianism" and often the people had little opportunity to freely express their will at the ballot box.

No cyclone which could have swept the North would have more quickly aroused its people. Senator Douglas returned to Illinois late in the autumn of 1854 to defend his position—his way lighted by bonfires burning his own effigy. The people of Chicago tolled the bells in the churches when he attempted to speak; an angry audience heckled

him so that he could not proceed. Lincoln dropped his engrossing law practice and responded as an apostle of freedom. He became the Whig candidate for United States Senator against Senator Shields as Douglas proceeded to central Illinois to resist the attack. If this smouldering sentiment of dissension could be smothered now, it would facilitate Douglas' own re-election when he came before the voters four years later in the fall of 1858. His political future had been thrown into the balance; his presidential possibilities in the Democratic ranks would be jeopardized by an adverse popular verdict.

There were few speeches in that 1854 campaign. Lincoln replied to Douglas at Springfield and a few days later at Peoria. It was in this later address on October 16, 1854, that he uttered a political axiom so true and cogent that it has been chiseled over the doorway to the marble temple which houses the log cabin of his humble birth at Hodgenville, Kentucky. Said Mr. Lincoln:

“Stand with anyone that stands right. Stand with him while he is right and part with him when he goes wrong.”

The fall elections chose James Buchanan President of the United States.

When the legislature convened at Springfield in the winter of 1855, following the senatorial campaign, Lincoln lacked four votes of the senatorship. But he demonstrated his courageous tenacity to stand by his principles. He threw his support

to Lyman Trumbull, a Democrat, who believed as did Lincoln on the slavery issue, and thereby won the first victory in Illinois for ultimate freedom from slave domination.

But the campaign of 1854 proved to be only a curtain raiser. The term of Senator Douglas would expire in four years. Then he would have to face the people with his own seat in the United States Senate at stake. Meanwhile the Republican party had come into being and Mr. Lincoln had joined the new organization at Bloomington, delivering his famous "Lost Speech" on May 29, 1856. In this address he burned the party affiliations of the past and championed a new party to fight the encroachments of slavery. From that day, Illinois had two great political leaders. Abraham Lincoln became the head of the Republican party; Senator Douglas the recognized chieftain of the entrenched Democracy. The stage scenery was rapidly being set for a contest between these two mental giants. A seat in the United States Senate now held by Stephen A. Douglas was to be the prize. The steady transgression of the slave power was to be the issue. The summer and autumn of 1858 was the time when the people must weigh the facts and render a decision.

While all these movements were progressing in Illinois, great events were transpiring at Washington. Two days after President Buchanan's inauguration came the stupefying decision of the United States Supreme Court in the Dred Scott

case. It announced that a slave was property and could not have the rights of citizenship; that the Missouri Compromise of 1820 which placed a boundary on slave states was void; that Congress could not prohibit slavery in the territories.

Here was a legal weapon in the hands of the South by which all agreements of the past might be repudiated and the whole slavery system might spread unchecked like an epidemic over the territories now forming out of the boundless prairies of the West.

Slavery leaders were not slow to act. Through their designs a convention was called in Kansas at Lecompton to frame a proposed state constitution which would perpetuate slavery. Free men refrained from voting and the Lecompton Constitution with a "slavery proviso" was adopted by a large majority. All that was now needed was the approval of Congress and President Buchanan would admit Kansas as a slave state. But Senator Douglas rebelled. He clung to his doctrine of "popular sovereignty" and claimed that there had not been a free vote. His opposition halted the cabal. When the whole constitution was submitted in a second election, January 4, 1858, the tremendous vote showed that Kansas wanted to be free.

With his political prestige enhanced by this congressional victory, Senator Douglas returned to Illinois in mid-summer to engage in the greatest contest of his political career. The people of Illinois in the fall of 1858 were to elect a legislature

and one of the duties imposed upon it was the selection of a successor to Stephen A. Douglas. No party convention was called to nominate him. He was the leader of Illinois Democracy and that settled all disputes.

Also the newly organized Republican party was ready. In a state convention at Springfield on June 16, it declared that "Abraham Lincoln is the first and only choice of the Republicans of Illinois for the United States Senate as the successor of Stephen A. Douglas." Within a few hours after the nomination, Lincoln appeared before the state convention assembled in the Old Capitol, now the age-toned Sangamon County Court House, and in a carefully prepared address accepted the nomination in his ever-famous "house divided against itself" speech.

At once Senator Douglas began an aggressive campaign. Hiring a private train, consisting of several passenger coaches for the entertainment of his friends and five platform cars on which cannons were mounted to boom his progress, he started toward Springfield. While enroute, in a two-hour address at Bloomington he defended the Dred Scott decision and accused Lincoln of a desire to have the negro vote, inter-marry with the whites and hold office. Lincoln started to follow Douglas, replying to his speeches a day or two later. This practice of Lincoln, called by his enemies political "jackalling," aroused so much bitterness that on

July 24, Lincoln sent Douglas a challenge to a series of joint debates.

Before an answer was to come, a singular incident occurred. Douglas and Lincoln met on a muddy road on the outskirts of Monticello—a spot now marked by a twenty-four foot pyramid, which was dedicated by the State Historical Society of Illinois in 1918, on the occasion of the sixtieth anniversary of the event. Lincoln jumped out of his buggy and held a conference with Douglas over the proposed debates.

"Meet me at the Bryant house in Bement tonight, and I will talk over the arrangements," responded Douglas, and then proceeded with his entourage of enthusiastic followers.

That night in the little white clapboard cottage which stands today as one of the most cherished Lincoln shrines in central Illinois, a joint debate agreement was made. The itinerary arranged was:

Ottawa	August 21
Freeport	August 27
Jonesboro	September 15
Charleston	September 18
Galesburg	October 7
Quincy	October 13
Alton	October 15

In the opening debate at Ottawa neither speaker was in good form. Douglas chided Lincoln for his "house divided against itself" speech and accused him of entertaining doctrines of gov-

ernment radical in import. The questions asked and the issues raised gave promise of entertaining responses for the second debate which was to occur at Freeport, one week later. There Lincoln would "pay Douglas back in kind." Prairiedom was aroused to the greatest of expectancy.

What actually did happen at Freeport on that day, has since become one of the most significant incidents in the history of the nation. It signalized a new dawn in the advancement of equality and justice among the races. For nearly three quarters of a century, the torches there lighted have carried hope to kneeling subjects in other climes. From that day the question of negro servitude became a moral as well as a political issue; out of that occasion spread the fame of Abraham Lincoln's sagacity, resulting in his election to the presidency and the consequences of Civil War.

People could not wait until the day of the debate. They came into town the day before so as not to miss any of the details. Surrounded now by the conveniences of rapid transit, the telephone and the radio, it is somewhat difficult to visualize the intense eagerness with which people then gathered at a political meeting. Lacking adequate printing presses to give wide dissemination to views and large halls at which people could conveniently gather, it was the pioneer custom to assemble on the outskirts of a town in some grove, where a temporary stand would be erected to accommodate the stump speakers.

Conditions changed so rapidly immediately after the Lincoln-Douglas debates that these picturesque gatherings mark the high tide of the "stump" method of campaigning, and the places where held have since become glow points in history commemorated by appropriate tablets on every spot where the two contestants met. So historic is the one at Freeport that in 1903 President Roosevelt came as the principal speaker of the dedication.

For more than twenty years I have studied the histories, read the newspaper files and interviewed people who knew Abraham Lincoln. I know now that no one will ever know Abraham Lincoln unless he has visited some of the places where Lincoln lived and labored. I mean knowing him as a neighbor, advisor and friend. I mean knowing him in the intimate way that only his few present survivors knew him—but which all may come to know through their recollections of his kindly, homely ways.

"I remember how enthusiastic the Lincoln men from Winnebago County were," Matt Trask, the picturesque old horseman, related to me sixty-four years after the event. "Some of them rode around town on a wagon with a big log aboard, which they attacked vigorously with axes. Lincoln was a rail splitter, you know, hence the rail-splitting stunt. The walk of twenty miles to Freeport in company with four other boys was a long, hot and tiresome journey. The only food we had

until evening was what we carried in our pockets, but we felt repaid in hearing one of the greatest debates in the history of America."

People came on foot, on horseback, and whole families journeyed in lumber wagons, finding their rest at night by the roadside. Reduced rates of fare were announced by the railroads running from Chicago to Freeport. Long before noon there were twice as many visitors as there were inhabitants of the town. The highways were black with people; it was almost impossible to pass the Brewster House, so jammed were the streets with a talking, gesticulating crowd, discussing and arguing.

It was a day of processions. Early in the morning the Carroll County delegation arrived headed by a band and a banner on which was inscribed:

Carroll County for Abraham Lincoln

At 10 o'clock a special train from Amboy, Dixon and Polo arrived with twelve cars crowded full. Mr. Lincoln was on this train and some two thousand followers were at the depot to escort him to the Brewster House. One large banner was conspicuous in the march:

WINNEBAGO COUNTY FOR "OLD ABE"

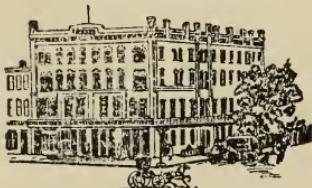
There was scarcely a place to sit. County bands furnished music; the streets were gaily dec-

orated; mendicant peddlers shouted their wares. The throng was noisy; the visitors were good natured but wanted to argue. Partisan feeling ran high. Cotton mottoes hung from windows and stairways proclaimed the beliefs of the contestants; flags on the horses carried a statement of principles. The day was cloudy, windy and raw, but the milling crowd thought nothing of the weather. It was a holiday; it was a rally of Democrats and Abolitionists, each side bent on seeing to it that their man won.

"All Prairiedom has broken loose," wrote the correspondent of the New York Evening Post.

Senator Douglas, accompanied by his wife, had arrived the evening before on a gaily decorated train amid the belching roar of cannon. A procession was formed; not less than a thousand carried torches; bands blared music; from windows and balconies women waved handkerchiefs. Douglas was dressed like a cavalier—ruffled shirt, dark blue coat, light trousers and shiny shoes. He was short of stature—barely five feet two inches—thick set, deep chested and burly. His full face radiated success and sunshine; there was a strut of superiority in his gait; an appearance of general prosperity in his demeanor.

After Lincoln arrived in the morning the crowd grew impatient. People cheered and called. They pushed and crowded for position. Both Lincoln and Douglas were busy with conferences, but to quiet the people they appeared to



BREWSTER HOUSE
IN 1858

This drawing made from an old photograph, shows the Brewster House where Lincoln and Douglas were guests and where Lincoln stayed. Note the balcony around front and side, on which Lincoln and Douglas appeared together.

gether on the balcony. The contrasts between the two were so noticeable that every survivor of the scene I have ever interviewed has always told me of Lincoln's sad and melancholy look. Lincoln was plain, slightly stoop-shouldered, shabby and dusty of dress, towering fully a foot above the sleek-appearing Douglas. He wore an old stove-pipe hat; a coarse, faded coat, short in the sleeves; trousers

that bagged at the knees and rough boots.

Through the morning Lincoln conferred with a number of Republican leaders, including Joseph Medill, Norman B. Judd, and Dr. C. H. Ray, Chicago, over four questions he intended to ask Douglas. Every advisor opposed the plan. The second question and the one Lincoln clung to most tenaciously read:

“Can the people of a United States territory, in any lawful way, against the wish of any citizen of the United States, exclude slavery from its limits, prior to the adoption of a state constitution?”

“Nearly all present urged that Mr. Douglas would make answer, that under his doctrine of ‘popular sovereignty’ any territory could by legislation exclude slavery and such an answer would

catch the crowd and beat Mr. Lincoln as a candidate for Senator from Illinois," declared General Smith D. Atkins, a participant in the conference, recounting the scene in later life. Lincoln listened attentively to all discussions. He pondered the consequences a long time.

"I don't know how Senator Douglas will answer," he finally responded. "If he answers that the people of a territory cannot exclude slavery I will beat him. But if he answers as you all say he will, and as I believe he will, he may beat me for Senator, but he will never be President."

Before 2 o'clock people had finished their lunches sitting about the streets and were rushing to the grove that then stood a couple of blocks to the rear of the Brewster House. The crowd that formed a circle around the frail little stand was so compact that Robert Hitt, later congressman, then the reporter for the Chicago Press and Tribune, had to be lifted over the heads of the people.

"The newspaper gentry have to fight a hand-to-hand conflict for even the meagerest chance for standing room," the New York Evening Post correspondent wrote to his paper describing the scuffles for positions within hearing.

Douglas, always inclined to be spectacular, had planned to drive to the meeting place behind four dappled grey horses secured for him by the postmaster, F. W. S. Brawley. When Lincoln's friends learned of this they sent over into Lancaster Township for Uncle John Long to come to

Freeport with his splendid team of six enormous horses and his Conestoga wagon in which he had recently driven from Pennsylvania. Advised of the ruse, a few minutes before the debate, Douglas abandoned his carriage and walked to the speaker's stand with Col. James Mitchell, who later introduced him to the audience. Lincoln reluctantly climbed into the wagon; the driver of the teams sat on the nigh wheel horse and drove the six by a single rein; his enthusiastic, tireless supporters from the countryside followed the short distance, cheering all the way.

Great difficulty was experienced by the speakers in reaching the platform. While the crowd was adjusting itself and the timekeepers were arranging the details a correspondent of the New York Tribune started to write a word picture of the scene.

"Douglas is no beauty, but he certainly has the advantage of Lincoln in looks," he pencilled in his report. "Very tall and awkward, with a face of grotesque ugliness, he presents the strongest possible contrast to the thick-set, burly bust and short legs of the judge."

Promptly at 2 o'clock Mr. Lincoln opened the debate, having been presented by Thomas Turner. For the first time in the many contests with Senator Douglas, Lincoln stepped before the audience with an air of masterfulness. He could scarcely await the opportunity of putting his question. In less than five minutes he had propounded

it, looking down on his audience with sad eyes. Douglas did not wince. He was too artful a debater, so much so that people called him the "little dodger," to show any emotion. One might think he had lost the thrust which Lincoln was driving home.

When the time for the reply came, Douglas without hesitation answered the Lincoln question as his own friends had predicted. At once the Douglas crowd went wild. A plausible response had been made that must silence the critical abolitionists.

"In my opinion," responded Senator Douglas, his clear tones easily reaching the outer fringe of the crowd, "the people of a territory can by lawful means exclude slavery from their limits prior to the formation of a state constitution. It matters not which way the Supreme Court may hereafter decide, as the abstract question, whether slavery may go into the territory under the constitution, the people have the lawful means to exclude it or to introduce it as they please, for the reason that slavery cannot exist a day or an hour anywhere, unless it is supported by local police regulations."

Statesman and politician had clashed in reasoning. The purpose of Lincoln's question was to force Douglas to either renounce the Dred Scott decision that slavery could not be excluded from a territory or to abandon his "popular sovereignty" doctrine that the people of a territory had a right to regulate their own affairs. No matter

which answer he would make the result would be damaging to the aspirations of Senator Douglas to become the Democratic candidate for the presidency in 1860.

The answer which Senator Douglas gave was a refutation of the Dred Scott decision to which the South clung with tenacious hope. The "Freeport Doctrine," as it is now called, split the Democratic party. From newspapers and forums in the South, Douglas was immediately denounced as an "apostate."

All over Northern Illinois, the Democratic papers applauded Douglas' triumphant reply. The other debates did not change events.

Douglas made 130 speeches and expended \$80,000 to \$1,000 spent by Lincoln. Douglas was chosen United States Senator by a majority of eight legislative votes. Lincoln as the leader of a new party had won a popular majority, the total Republican vote cast being 126,084 to 121,940 for the Douglas ticket. Had popular elections of United States Senators been the governmental policy then as it now is, Lincoln would have been chosen United States Senator. But for him the Fates had other things in store.

"It hurt too much to laugh and I was too big to cry," was Lincoln's only comment after the election.

Long before the debates were over Lincoln was a national figure. During the next year he was invited to deliver addresses in Ohio and Kansas;

at Cooper Union, New York, and in Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island and New Hampshire. The Republican party was a growing power in the nation.

Upon the return of Senator Douglas to Washington, however, he found that he had been deposed by Jefferson Davis from the important territorial committee chairmanship, because of his "Freeport heresy." The South would not tolerate one who would not support them all the way in their slavery beliefs.

All too soon it became evident that Lincoln's "Freeport Doctrine" had disrupted the Democratic party into a sectional organization. When the Democratic National Convention met at Charleston, South Carolina, in 1860, the southern delegates refused to support Senator Douglas for the presidency because of his answer to Lincoln's question in the Freeport debate. One faction of the Democratic party nominated Douglas and the other Breckenridge. Faced with such a division there was little hope of Democratic success.

Largely because of his pronounced statesmanship as disclosed in the series of debates with Douglas, the first Republican Convention to meet in the West, when gathered at Chicago in May, 1860, nominated Abraham Lincoln for President. He was triumphantly elected.

"Two or three days after the election in 1860," wrote Joseph Medill, one of the men who had counselled with Lincoln at Freeport, in relating

his story of passing events, "learning that the active workers of the Republican party in the state were calling on Mr. Lincoln in Springfield from all over Illinois to congratulate him on his triumphant election to the presidency, I concluded to make the same pilgrimage and went down to the Alton cars with a number of other Chicagoans, reaching there in the morning.

"After breakfast I walked up to the Old State House in the public square, where Mr. Lincoln was holding his levee in the office of the secretary of state. He bent his head down to my ear and said in low tones something like this:

"‘Do you recollect the argument we had on the way up to Freeport two years ago over my question that I was going to ask Judge Douglas about the power of squatters to exclude slavery from territories?’

"And I replied that I recollect it very well.

"‘Now,’ said he, ‘don’t you think I was right in putting that question to him?’

"‘Yes, Mr. Lincoln, you were, and we were both right. Douglas’ reply to that question undoubtedly hurt him badly for the presidency, but it re-elected him to the Senate at that time as I feared it would.’

"Lincoln then gave me a broad smile and said,

"‘Now I have won the place that he was playing for.’”

Freeport has been given the verdict of history as the place where Abraham Lincoln began the sagacious drive which placed him in the presidential chair. Proud of this singular distinction, Freeport erected a marker (which President Roosevelt dedicated in 1903) on the spot where Lincoln asked his momentous question. At frequent intervals the history of the event has been recounted in celebrations.

But on August 27 of this year came the culminating tribute. On that date Abraham Lincoln in bronze came back to his people. It revealed the face of the Lincoln that the people knew, who sought him for wisdom and guidance through the years that Illinois nurtured this genius.

Freeport's Lincoln in bronze, near the entrance to Taylor Park, is the plain, humble, courageous citizen of Illinois, who has a place in history and literature greater than that accorded to Napoleon.

RECOGNITION BY LEGISLATURE OF WISCONSIN

AT the time of the Freeport dedication the legislatures of the middle West had nearly all adjourned, but that of Wisconsin was still in session. Learning of the proposed ceremony, State Senator E. J. Roethe of Grant county, introduced a joint resolution authorizing the sending of an official delegation representing the legislature to attend the unveiling. The resolution unanimously passed both houses and the presiding officers appointed such delegation. Accompanying the official representatives was also a large number of other prominent citizens of Madison and state officials.

CHAPTER IV

RECOGNITION BY LEGISLATURE OF WISCONSIN

JOINT RESOLUTION

Relating to a special committee to represent the legislature at the unveiling of the statue of Lincoln the Debater at Freeport, Illinois, on August 27, 1929.

Whereas, There will be unveiled on the occasion of the seventy-first anniversary of the Lincoln-Douglas debate at Freeport, Illinois, on August 27, 1929, the statue of Lincoln the Debater by the sculptor, Leonard Crunelle, which has been donated to the city of Freeport by Honorable W. T. Rawleigh; and

Whereas, A most interesting program has been arranged for the anniversary of this great debate and the unveiling of the statue of Lincoln the Debater, which has been widely commented upon as one of the more remarkable of the Lincoln statues; and

Whereas, Abraham Lincoln belongs to the entire nation and every state may rightfully claim a part in his memory; and

Whereas, The Freeport debate was the debate of the entire series of the Lincoln-Douglas debates in 1858 which had most to do with making

Abraham Lincoln President of the United States and unifying the North in opposition to the secession movement; now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Senate, the Assembly concurring, That the legislature of Wisconsin hereby accepts the invitation extended to it to participate in the exercises of the seventy-first anniversary of the Lincoln-Douglas debate at Freeport, Illinois, and the unveiling of the statue of Lincoln the Debater, on August 27, 1929. Be it further

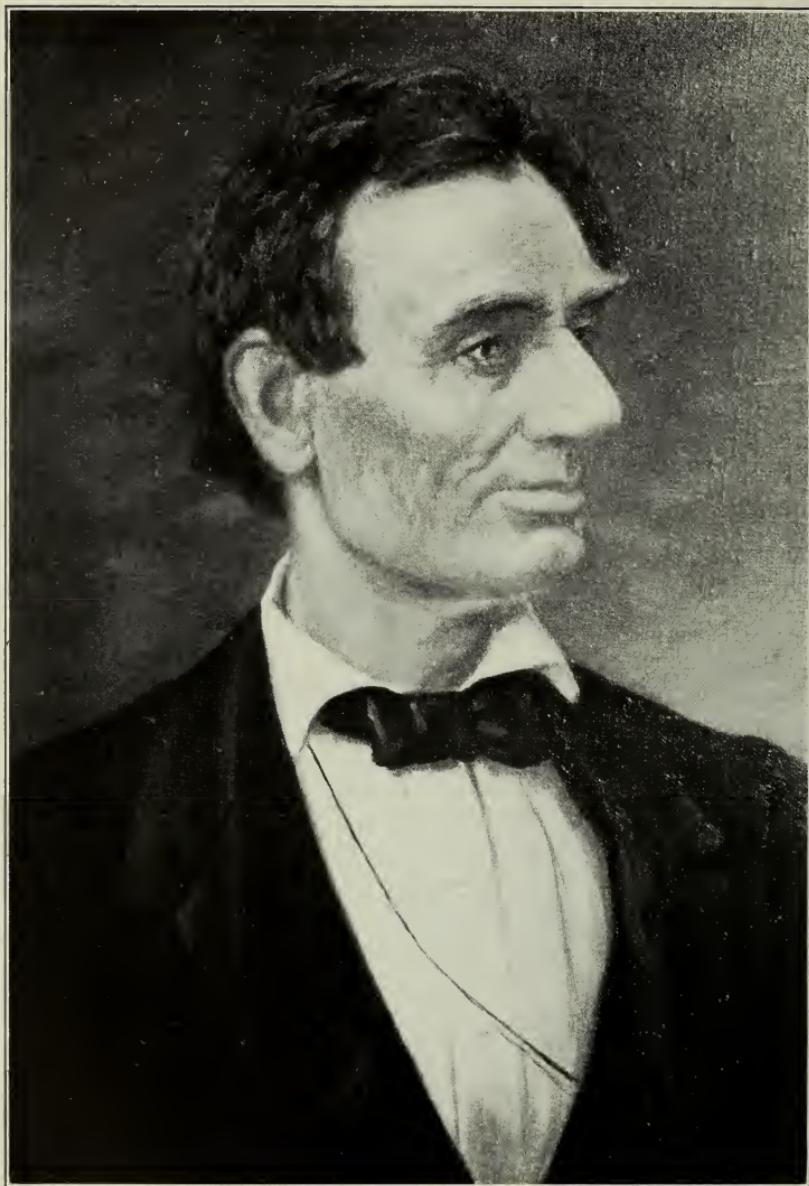
Resolved, That a special joint committee to consist of two Senators and three Assemblymen be appointed by the presiding officers of the respective houses to attend these exercises as official representatives of the legislature.

* * * *

In accordance with the terms of the resolution the Wisconsin legislature sent as official representatives of the occasion, Senators E. J. Roethe, Fennimore, and Elmer S. Hall, Green Bay, and the Assembly was represented by Assemblymen John S. Jackson, Mineral Point; Christian N. Saugen, Eleva; and Moulton B. Goff, Sturgeon Bay. These officials were accompanied by the presiding officers of the legislature, Lieutenant Governor Henry A. Huber, Stoughton; and Speaker Charles B. Perry, Milwaukee; and a number of officers of the legislative body.

Because of his deep interest in the event, President Glenn Frank accepted personally the invitation sent to the University of Wisconsin and was present at the ceremonies with other university faculty representatives.

SURVIVORS WHO HEARD
LINCOLN—DOUGLAS DEBATES



LINCOLN IN JUNE, 1860

*From an Oil Painting made by William Patterson of Chicago
after one of the four Hesler photographs. Reproduced through
the courtesy of Mr. John W. Fling, Wyoming, Illinois, who
owns the original.*

CHAPTER V

SURVIVORS WHO HEARD LINCOLN—DOUGLAS DEBATES

AS a preliminary to the unveiling ceremonies, the Lincoln-Douglas Society of Freeport maintained for some weeks an office and a staff of employees. Mr. Albert O. Barton, Madison, Wis., a Lincoln scholar and editor, was in charge. To this office came many callers, and many letters were also received from survivors who heard one or more of the Lincoln-Douglas debates, or from members of their families. Most interesting among the callers were many who attended the Freeport or other debates. At the unveiling they were guests of honor of the society.

* * * *

LOUIS ALTENBERN, Lena

REV. N. T. ALLEN, 216 Allens Ave., Galesburg

MRS. MARTHA ARMSTRONG, 135 West Losey St., Galesburg

MRS. ZENAIDE BABBIT, Avon

CAPT. W. H. BAKER, 816 So. McKinley St., Freeport

FRANK E. BANGASSER, 310 W. Spring St., Freeport

MRS. SUSAN BAILEY BARNARD, Ottawa

LEVI BECHTOLD, McConnell, Ill.

W. F. BENNETHUM, Freeport

MRS. W. S. BEST, 19 So. Walnut St., Freeport

MRS. MARY C. BETTS, 5 W. Iroquois St., Freeport

MRS. JULIA BRACE, Algona, Iowa

FRANK F. BROWN, 20 E. Empire St., Freeport

GEO. BRUINGTON, 1017 West Main St., Galesburg

A. J. BUFFINGTON, Freeport

ROBERT L. BURCHELL, Erie

J. BURKHART, Silver Creek

O. L. CAMPBELL, Knoxville

MRS. H. L. CARR, Osceola, Iowa

MRS. HELEN CHURCHILL, 581 No. Chambers St., Galesburg
SILAS CLAY, Lena

JASON CLINGMAN, Dakota

WILLIAM CLINGMAN, 904 So. Carroll, Freeport

MRS. TILLMAN CLOUSE, Lake View, Iowa

A. COCHRUN, 694 So. Academy St., Galesburg

G. F. CONLEY, 1087 E. Main St., Galesburg

RUFUS COOK, 30 E. Douglas St., Freeport

BENJ. F. COOL, 1083 No. Seminary St., Galesburg

MRS. CASSANDRA COWPER, Abingdon

G. D. CROCKER, Broadview Hotel, Galesburg

F. P. CROSS, 2105 W. State St., Rockford

D. DAUGENBAUGH, Freeport

J. L. DeGRAFF, Lena

L. DeGRAFF, Forreston

J. M. DENNIS, Michigan Ave., Galesburg

MRS. MARIA DUNLAP, 703 Knoxville Ave., Peoria

J. H. DUNN, 1488 No. Prairie St., Galesburg

J. J. EARLE, Fayette, Iowa

J. GERRY EBERHART, 228 No. Central Ave., Rockford

JOHN EDWARDS, 321 W. Marquette, Chicago

JOHN M. EGAN, Amboy

E. T. EWING, Freeport

LEWIS FABLINGER, Elizabeth

A. W. FRANKEBERGER, Rock Grove

MRS. AGNES FUGATE, Freeport

GEORGE WASHINGTON GALE, Galesburg

MRS. AUGUSTA GARDNER, Polo

ROBERT M. GEISE, Freeport

MARVIN TRASK GRATTAN, Decorah, Iowa

J. W. GRAWE, Pub., The Independent Republican, Waverly,
Iowa

MRS. ALICE D. GREEN, Hamilton

MISS JANE E. HAMAND, Schaller, Iowa

MRS. S. E. HAMPTON, Abingdon

JOHN P. HARRIS, 108 Fourth St., Mineral Point, Wis.

LOUIS HART, Freeport

F. HART, 6521 Rita St., Los Angeles, Calif.

SAMUEL W. HAWLEY, Ottawa

G. J. HAYUNGA, German Valley

R. H. HARSHBARGER, 167 No. Cherry St., Galesburg

MRS. S. L. HEARD, 920 W. Stephenson St., Freeport

MRS. AGNES A. HENNEY, Idlehurst Heights, Hayward, Wis.

HENRY HILDEBRANT, Mt. Sterling, Ohio

THOMAS H. HODSON, Galena

A. B. F. HOGINS, Freeport

CAPT. J. C. HOGUE, Monmouth

H. W. HOLMES, 270 Maple Ave., Galesburg

J. C. HOLLOWAY, 230 Sumner St., Galesburg

MRS. LOUIS BENNET HOUSH, 227 So. Academy St., Galesburg

MRS. ETHEL EDGERTON HURD, 2417 Lindale Ave., So., Minneapolis, Minn.

CHARLES E. IVES, Amboy

MAJOR CHARLES JOHNSON, Alexis

MRS. AMELIA L. JOHNSON, 211 So. 4th St., Niles, Mich.

MRS. ANNA W. KARR, Osceola, Iowa

MRS. E. KELLEY, Lena

JACOB KERCH, 318 W. Main, Freeport

B. H. KIDDER, 1048 W. Main St., Galesburg

MRS. M. KLOCK, 102 Elkhorn St., Polo

MRS. MARY KNORR, 114 No. Harlem Ave., Freeport

HENRY P. KOCHSMEIER, 227 E. Washington St., Freeport

J. W. KUNTZ, 225 W. Empire, Freeport

ISAAC LAPP, Dakota, Ill.

GEORGE A. LAWRENCE, Weinberg Arcade, Galesburg

MRS. ANN E. LEASE, Ridott

SAMUEL LEONARD, Lanark

JOHN H. LINK, Forreston

T. LOHAFER, Mt. Morris

MRS. ELIZA CARR LUKENS, 38th St., Rock Island

LEONARD J. MARCKS, Honey Creek, Wis.

MRS. BARBARA MARTIN, Freeport

MRS. ELEANOR S. MARTIN, 260 W. Main St., Galesburg

MRS. E. VANMATRE, Orangeville

REV. O. F. MATTISON, 718 Clark St., Evanston

CHARLES F. MAYER, Freeport

THOMAS METZ, Route 5, Freeport

J. M. MEYERS, Forreston

MRS. HARRIET MIDDOUR, Mt. Morris

CLINTON MILLER, Freeport

N. L. MITCHELL, Freeport

MRS. JOHN MOERSCH, 526 No. Hardin St., Freeport

L. J. MOLTER, Freeport

H. C. MONTAGUE, Lena

CHARLES MUSSER, Pearl City

ISAAC MYERS, 756 W. Lincoln Blvd., Freeport

C. W. MACUNE, 1813 Gould Ave., Fort Worth, Texas

PETER McGLUCK, Freeport

J. B. McKIBBEN, Storm Lake, Iowa

ROBERT MCLEES, 15 W. Dexter St., Freeport

MISS LOUISA NELSON, 1301 Glendale Ave., Peoria

MRS. CHARLOTTE BULL OVERSTREET, 416 N. Broad St.,
Galesburg

JOHN PENTICOFF, Pearl City
MISS MARY PHILLIPS, Damascus, Ill.
MRS. JENNIE PIERSOL, Kansas City, Kansas

M. L. QUEST, Rock Grove

PROF. B. J. RADFORD, Eureka
MRS. E. REYNOLDS, Abingdon
JOHN F. REZNER, Route 6, Freeport
M. P. RINDLAUB, Platteville, Wis.
JOHN E. RODEMEYER, 606 So. Blackhawk St., Freeport
J. R. ROGERS, Shannon
WILLIAM ROSENSTIEL, Pearl City
L. F. ROWLAND, Haldane

MISS LYDIA A. SAMUELS, 99 No. Chambers St., Galesburg
DR. A. C. SCHADEL, Warren
MATHIAS SCHMICH, 503 No. Van Buren, Freeport
MISS EMMA J. SCOTT, Washington, Ill.
REV. H. T. SCOVILL, 300 Forest Ave., Rockford
MR. AND MRS. ERNEST SEITZ, 617 So. Chicago St., Freeport
MRS. J. S. SHOWALTER, 215 W. Pleasant St., Freeport
MRS. MARTHA LITTLE SMITH, Oregon, Ill.
MRS. C. G. SMITH, Dixon
MRS. MARTHA SNOW, 895 W. Main St., Galesburg
D. B. SPENCER, Ruskin, Fla.
FRANK E. STEVENS, Sycamore
W. SCOTT STITELEY, Mt. Carroll
MRS. TRUMAN SWEET, SR., Durand
MRS. N. P. SWENSON, 341 E. Losey St., Galesburg

RUFUS TERRY, Herman
C. J. TIFFANY, c/o MRS. OSCAR DICK, Stockton
SIMON TOLLMEIER, Pearl City
E. B. TRUXELL, Stockton

MRS. C. VANSTICKLE, Lena

P. WOODRING, Waterloo, Iowa

MRS. M. E. WAGONER, 416 Maple Ave., Galesburg

GEO. M. WALES, SR., Lanark, Ill.

J. B. WALKER, Dakota

J. E. WALLACE, Monmouth, Ill., Route 1

WILL J. WAYNE, 424 E. Waggoner St., Decatur

O. P. WEBB, Freeport

MRS. MARTHA FARNHAM WEBSTER, 144 W. Simmons St.,
Galesburg

BEN H. WEEKS, 455 N. Broad St., Galesburg

A. H. WEIR, Elizabeth

MRS. L. WEST, 642 No. Cherry St., Galesburg

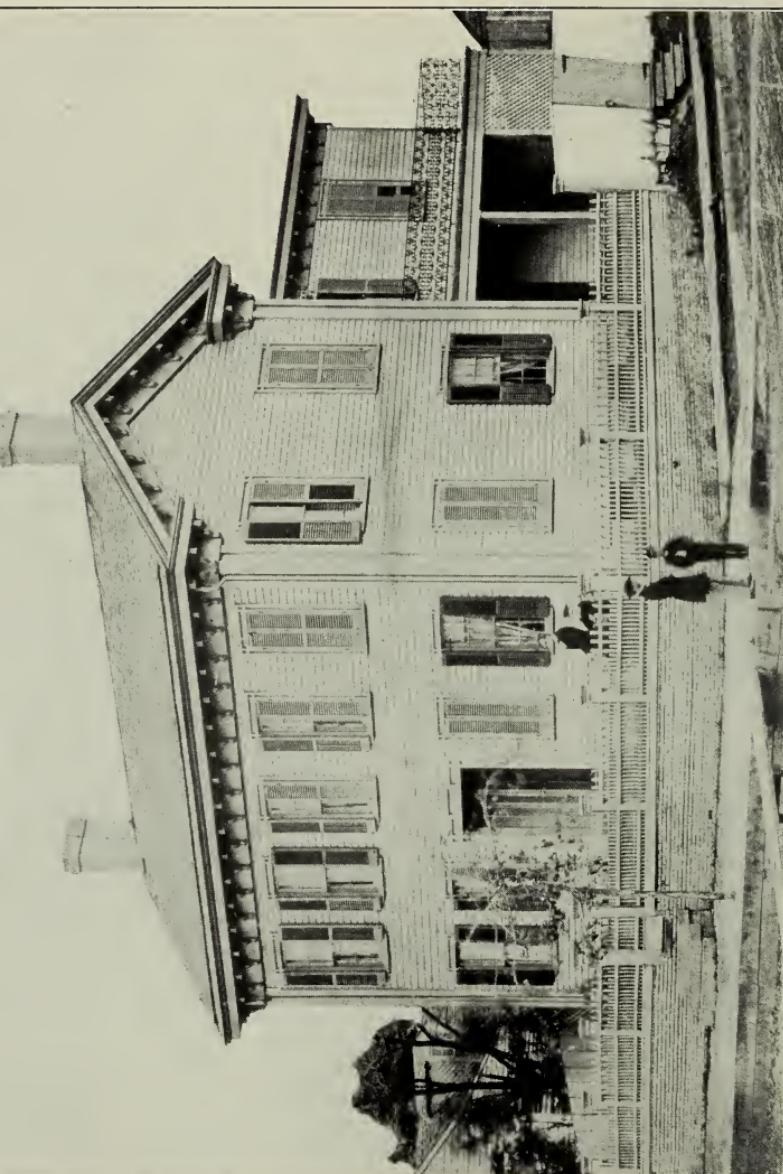
J. A. WIDNEY, Alpha

ADAM YOUNG, McConnell

MRS. SUSAN HOYMAN ZUBACH, 1605 So. Carroll St., Freeport

WORDS OF TRIBUTE AND COMMENDATION

MANY letters of congratulation and commendation were received by Mr. Rawleigh and the Lincoln-Douglas Society on the unveiling of the Lincoln statue, among them one from Edouard Herriot, premier of France during the World War. A representative number of such letters are herewith presented.



LINCOLN'S SPRINGFIELD HOME

Photograph taken during the Lincolns' residence, with Mr. and Mrs. Lincoln sitting in the corner of the yard behind the fence. This home is now used for exhibiting various Lincoln relics, including some of the furniture used by the Lincolns. (Original photograph in the collection of the late J. B. Oakleaf, of Moline, Ill.)

CHAPTER VI

WORDS OF TRIBUTE AND COMMENDATION

Mayor of Lyons
Mayor's Cabinet

Lyons, France, July 24, 1929

I am pleased to learn that on August 27th the City of Freeport will unveil a statue of the illustrious Lincoln, and I am proud to have been selected by you to help glorify this great citizen. The life of this statesman I always considered as the most beautiful example in human history because of his remarkable and glorious achievements, which merit the highest honors. Not only the children of the United States of America, but also the children of all the countries of the world should learn and know how the rail-splitter, Abraham Lincoln, created with his own hands, his education and his fortune; how he obtained the confidence of his co-citizens of Illinois. It was a glory for him to sacrifice his life to a splendid idea and to end in it. I call Lincoln the liberator, Lincoln the savior, Lincoln the friend of man. He was a brave man, even in death.

On August 27th, my heart and soul will be with you. Please tell those present that a Frenchman, a son of the nation which in 1863 sent some of her sons to your wonderful land, the state of Illinois, hopes that her colors will always be united

with yours. Perhaps some time later I can go myself to salute the image of the man whom I profoundly admire.

Very respectfully yours,
EDOUARD HERRIOTT
Mayor of Lyons, France.

* * * *

University of Wisconsin, President's Office

Madison, Wis., October 10, 1929

My dear Mr. Rawleigh:

It was not only a generous and gracious act, but a genuine service to future generations that you rendered when you gave to the city of Freeport the Crunelle statue of Lincoln the Debater. The nation cannot afford to do other than employ every means to keep vividly before succeeding generations insistent reminders of the spirit of Lincoln which represents so fully the things that make a people great.

And thank you for including me among the guests at the unveiling.

Sincerely
GLENN FRANK

The Honorable William T. Rawleigh
Freeport, Illinois.

* * * *

Pine Knoll, Foxboro, Mass., July 29, 1929

The Freeport debate marks the beginning of Lincoln's assuming the initiative in the discussions. At Ottawa he was, inevitably, on the defensive. He knew what Douglas must reply to his interroga-

tories, for he had already discussed that matter with his political friends, but he was determined that Douglas should go squarely on record in that most northern of the seven places of discussion, and take the inevitable consequences to his own future plans. Douglas said what Lincoln was sure he would say, and seemed to gain an advantage; but later he lost. And Lincoln stood squarely on his declaration of faith that the slavery issue was a national issue and a moral one.

Well may Freeport be proud of its heritage and aspire to live up to the ideals which the history of those brave days hands on to this generation.

Yours very truly,
WILLIAM E. BARTON

* * * *

Altona—Elbe (Germany) Aug. 25, 1929

You have been kind enough to include my name in the list of those that by special letter were invited to attend the unveiling of a statue of Abraham Lincoln in Taylor Park, Freeport, Ill., Aug. 27th.

As I always have been and am continuously interested in everything connected with the history of your great country, I would have gladly accepted your kind invitation, but as you yourself admit in your kind letter, time and distance do not allow me to attend the historic occasion.

So I can only express the hope, that I will be able in a time not too far distant to realize a trip to the United States which has been my desire for

a very long time, and on such occasion it would give me very great pleasure to also see the fine statue of Abraham Lincoln, erected in Taylor Park as a gift of Mr. W. T. Rawleigh.

I thank you very much for the small booklet which was read with great interest, and whenever you distribute similar literature through your society, please send same to my address also.

Yours very truly,
HENRY STRUNCK (*Mayor*)

* * * *

Madison, Wis., Aug. 29, 1929

I want to congratulate you on the successful culmination of the dedication exercises. Your gift of the Lincoln statue to Freeport is more than a local matter. It will be appreciated everywhere by those who love and admire Lincoln. You have made a gift in perpetuity to the evergrowing number of people who recognize in Lincoln the outstanding typical American. I like the statue itself. It is my own conception of the rugged character of Lincoln as he must have appeared during the period of the Lincoln-Douglas debates. The artist, Mr. Leonard Crunelle, must have caught the real spirit of Lincoln in order to produce this statue which so clearly typifies so many characteristics of Lincoln.

Sincerely yours,
GEORGE P. HAMBRECHT

Boston, Mass., Aug. 15, 1929

I am in receipt of the booklet announcing the unveiling of the Crunelle statue of Lincoln on the seventy-first anniversary of the famous Freeport debate, and I surely wish I might have the privilege of attendance thereat. My impression of the statue from the cut in the booklet is decidedly favorable, it manifests the power, dignity and sincerity of a man who feels he has a cause to defend.

Sincerely yours,

F. LAURISTON BULLARD

Chief Editorial Writer *Boston Herald*

* * * *

Moline, Illinois, Sept. 3, 1929

Although I am not a citizen of Freeport and will seldom see the result of your munificence to Freeport, I know the statue is there and I can visualize it any time I desire.

I want to congratulate you most heartily on the thought that prompted the gift, for it will be there for the children of many generations hereafter—there to gaze upon—the likeness of him whom Lowell so well called “The First American.”

There were such excellent arrangements made for taking care of the priceless things for exhibition purposes that the Committee having the matter in charge is surely to be congratulated, but no doubt the thanks belongs to “Freeport’s patron-saint,” as a well known Freeport citizen said to me referring to you.

Freeport has made an excellent start in the way of honoring Abraham Lincoln and it will be an incentive to others yet to come to assist in perpetuating the memory of Abraham Lincoln.

Most Cordially,

J. B. OAKLEAF

* * * *

Chicago, Ill., Aug. 20, 1929

I thank you sincerely for the invitation, at the instance of Hon. W. T. Rawleigh, to the unveiling of the Lincoln statue, at Freeport, Ill., August 27, 1929.

It is encouraging to see ideals renewed in this materialistic age, as by such celebrations, and this statue will serve in years to come as a reminder of ideals to all who look thereon.

Sincerely yours,

E. R. DERRICKSON, *Local Chairman*
The Order of Railroad Telegraphers

* * * *

Lake Mohonk, N. Y., Aug. 13, 1929

With great satisfaction I have received the invitation to attend the unveiling of the statue of Abraham Lincoln on the 27th of August, and I deeply regret that I cannot accept it.

You have a most inspiring program. Every American rejoices in each new interpretation of Lincoln, whether in bronze or marble, in poem, oration or history. To know him better should be

the ambition of every American citizen for a century to come.

Sincerely yours,
W. H. P. FAUNCE
Providence, R. I.

* * * *

Charlevoix, Mich., Aug. 5, 1929

Your letter of July 30th was forwarded to me here, where I am spending a vacation.

Abraham Lincoln is one of the very few men I have encountered in my study of history of whom I can honestly say that the more I study his career the greater is my respect for him.

As to the debate at Freeport, I know of no other occasion in American history when a single pronouncement by a public man had so great an effect upon his career and the immediate future of our country, as is true of the "Freeport Doctrine" pronouncement of Douglas.

Yours sincerely,
C. S. BOUCHER

* * * *

The Union Star Publishing Company

Clarendon, Va., Aug. 15, 1929

To my mind, the great value of this celebration is due to several considerations. We, of course, all recognize Lincoln's greatness. We realize that his advanced stand on the question of slavery and his refusal to compromise that stand even under the great pressure exerted by his closest friends and the chief leaders in his own party

showed Lincoln to be ahead of his time in vision and superior to it in character. We also recognize his farsightedness in the basic question he submitted to Douglas on August 27th, 1858, and his readiness to be a lone champion and stand or fall on the final outcome of that single issue; but few people go to the still deeper significance of what the two men represented for future generations.

Lincoln is one of the very few eminent characters of history who not only clearly understood that knowledge and intelligence are not synonymous terms but who also translated that conviction into his everyday deeds, staking his all on the issue. The masses have a different body of knowledge from that possessed by the privileged classes, the more highly educated classes; but Lincoln clearly perceived that intelligence depends less on the extent or kind of knowledge possessed than it does on the use to which available facts are put. Lincoln knew that the common man is less intimately versed in the beliefs and taboos which the privileged classes have crystallized into dogmas during the past centuries and that he is, for that very reason, freer to accept new truths that extend human rights and opportunities to all their fellows. The clearness of Lincoln's vision and the greatness of his character are manifested by the fact that his appeal to the masses was always based on an impersonal search for truth, never on a desire to profit by stirring up class prejudices and class hatreds. His nature impelled him to seek

truth no matter whither it might lead; but his faith in the goodness and the beauty of truth was no greater than his faith in the intelligence of the masses to distinguish between truth and error and their inherent desire to welcome the former even though such welcome means personal sacrifice. The real greatness of Lincoln rests, it seems to me, on this fundamental trait in his nature.

Douglas, on the other hand, saw life from the pinnacle on the privileged class to which he belonged. Within that class, according to the standards by which class measures eminence, Douglas was a great man; but as the centuries pass mankind will see more and more clearly that the decay of those standards had already set in and that their inadequacy was evident to the new seer who viewed them from a higher Sinai. Because they make this distinction between knowledge and intelligence and because they give "the last full measure of devotion" to their faith in truth, it is the Lincoln and La Follettes who lead mankind to social and political betterment.

It is highly important that we, the living adherents to the great cause represented by such a leader, shall constantly put this fundamental truth into practice in our own service by quickly recognizing and staunchly supporting those who today are breaking down fossilized traditional beliefs and taboos and thereby freeing the human mind so that it may welcome new truths. Our efforts will be effective only to the extent to which we recog-

nize and frankly proclaim the value of a living Norris as well as eulogize the dead Lincoln. In the field of industry there are men and women who are effectively breaking down long-established business beliefs and taboos, replacing them by the principles of mutual aid, and these leaders in business, now happily multiplying in number, are at least kin to the great leaders and should be recognized and supported as such.

Sincerely yours,

O. J. SCHUSTER

* * * *

Allentown, Pa., July 15, 1929

Your invitation to attend the dedication of the Lincoln monument received. Thank you. I derive much inspiration from the privilege of going frequently to Gettysburg, where I now live, to the place where he delivered his immortal speech, one of the great examples of "literature of power." Thank you for your thought of me. Every good wish for your continued success.

Cordially,

H. D. HOOVER

* * * *

Fort Wayne, Ind., Aug. 29, 1929

It was a memorable day for Freeport, I am sure, and the statue is much better than I anticipated from the picture of it which I had seen. It is a real work of art.

Respectfully yours,

LOUIS A. WARREN, *Director*

Lincoln Historical Research Foundation

Washington, Ill., Sept. 4, 1929

It was a pleasure to have the privilege of being present on the occasion of the unveiling, not only because of what it meant to me, but for what that gathering and that statue will signify to the present and to the future generations in our United States. How thankful we all are for your public spirited man! "Immortality is attained through leaving behind some treasure that will not allow those surviving to forget."

Sincerely yours,

EMMA J. SCOTT

* * * *

Rockford, Ill., Sept. 6, 1929

Last week, on the afternoon of August 27th, with a group of our most intimate friends we participated in the ceremonies incident to the unveiling of your very remarkable gift to your city and to your community—the Crunelle statue of Lincoln. We were all greatly impressed with the sculptor's work and we all enjoyed the various discourses which were offered upon and for that occasion. It seems to me a very fine thing—this gift of yours to your community. It seems to me that this figure, standing as it does in its very picturesque setting, must impress itself, all down through the years, upon each and every mind and heart which may have the happy privilege of coming before it.

I have told you that we enjoyed the discourses of the day. May I tell you how much we admired and liked the manner in which Philip La Follette

conducted the chairmanship of that occasion? May I confess to you how much we enjoyed your own talk; how the excellent diction of Dr. John Wesley Hill thrilled us, and how deeply we were impressed with the evident sincerity of your friend, Senator Norris? For these privileges I thank you, for myself, and in behalf of my friends.

Yours very sincerely,

L. H. CLARK

J. L. Clark Manufacturing Co.

* * * *

The Public Ownership League of America

Chicago, Ill., Sept. 6, 1929

I want, first of all, to congratulate you most heartily upon that wonderful occasion. I think I have never attended an event of that character before that seemed to me to be so interesting and inspiring. It was a delightful day and you and your associates certainly left nothing in the world undone to make the occasion one that is never-to-be-forgotten. The monument of Lincoln is certainly a masterpiece. I can not conceive of a more worthy gift to a community. The speakers all did splendidly. I liked especially Phil La Follette's fine handling of the meeting as chairman and, of course, Senator Norris' speech capped the climax. It was magnificent. He rose splendidly to the occasion and his address supplied just the one dominant note that was needed to make the occasion, in my judgment, an historic affair.

And, of course, in it all and through it all your spirit, your work and your service to humanity shines out. I think I shall never forget that day.

Very sincerely yours,
CARL D. THOMPSON, *Secretary*

* * * *

New York City, Aug. 26, 1929

I have just returned and find your letter of nearly a month ago, telling me the way in which Freeport will celebrate the 71st Anniversary of the Debate there between Abraham Lincoln and Stephen A. Douglas, on August 27, 1929.

I am sorry that the letter did not reach me in time to send you the expression for which you asked. I think, however, that in the little pamphlet which you have published, you have admirably placed the debate. And if the picture of Mr. Crunelle's statue on the title page in any way represents what he has done, he seems to me to have made a splendid interpretation of the debater himself. I shall not be content until I have seen the statue.

Sincerely yours,
IDA M. TARBELL

* * * *

Winona, Minn., Aug. 16, 1929

I have been reading with a great deal of interest and pleasure the pamphlet "Unveiling at 71st Anniversary Lincoln-Douglas Debate."

It is certainly fitting that Freeport is celebrating these stirring days in its history.

I want to congratulate you on your splendid gift to Freeport and her people. It will help greatly to keep alive the memory of one of the world's greatest men.

I am sure it is going to be a great day in Freeport, and I regret that I will be unable to be present at the unveiling.

Yours very truly,

J. R. McCONNON

* * * *

Hull House, Chicago, Aug. 20, 1929

As Miss Addams is in Europe it will be impossible for her to attend the unveiling of the statue of Abraham Lincoln at Freeport on August twenty-seventh.

I am sure that you may express to members of your society and other friends her warmest greetings and her congratulations upon the achievement which you are celebrating.

Very sincerely yours,

ADA Y. HICKS, *Secretary.*

* * * *

Madison, Wis., Aug. 28, 1929

I thank you for the courtesy of your letter, and for the very instructive ceremonies, which, through your courtesy, members of the Wisconsin legislature, including myself, were permitted to enjoy in your city yesterday. Owing to the fact that the Wisconsin Assembly was to convene at 7:30 Tuesday evening, it became necessary for me to rush away so swiftly that I could hardly find the

time to personally thank you as I said goodbye on the platform yesterday afternoon, for the opportunity which your gracious courtesy had given to those of us who had attended from the Wisconsin legislature. But I assure you that all were under obligation to you for the favor and I personally desire to thank you for the privileges that I enjoyed.

Very truly yours,
CHAS. B. PERRY, *Speaker, Assembly*
* * * *

Chicago, Ill., Aug. 30, 1929

Thank you very much for sending me a copy of the Freeport Journal-Standard containing full news of the unveiling of your statue of Lincoln the Debater.

I am very sorry I could not have been present in person on this memorable occasion to witness the ceremonies. Senator Norris' speech itself was worth traveling across a state to hear. Freeport is certainly fortunate in having a citizen like you.

Yours very sincerely,
EMIL O. JORGENSEN, *Secretary*

Educational Protective Association of America
* * * *

Rochester, N. Y., Aug. 30, 1929

I have read with keen interest the pamphlet sent me regarding your gift of the Lincoln statue to Freeport.

May I commend you for your gift? The influence of Lincoln grows with the years. Like all

great figures, he needs no monument to perpetuate his memory, but the daily influence of the rugged integrity of the great emancipator will be an inspiration to nobility of thought and action for generations to come. Your service to Freeport and our country can be measured only by things spiritual.

Very respectfully,

R. H. ROGERS

* * * *

Freeport, Ill., Aug. 28, 1929

I want to congratulate you on the complete success of the entire unveiling program, yesterday, effecting the completion of your generous gift.

Everything was appropriate, even to the benediction of the beautiful sunset at Countryside, your home, which was a fitting ending of a perfect day.

I want to thank you personally for the inspiration of the occasion, and, in behalf of the rural population of the county, whom in a measure I represent, we thank you for your inclusion of the country folks as a part of the community.

For many generations we believe the boys and girls of the rural schools will visualize the virtues of Lincoln, after having seen his statue, which you have so generously provided for and caused to be erected at Taylor Park.

In behalf of the Farm Bureau and the community interests that it fosters, we thank you for

your gift, and the interest in the community which prompted it.

Sincerely and appreciatively,
L. M. SWANZEY, *President*

* * * *

Madrid, Iowa, Aug. 30, 1929

I have read with much interest the record as given in the Journal-Standard, and your generosity in presenting the statue of Lincoln to the city of Freeport is certainly worthy of the admiration of anyone who is interested in good government and the uplift of the American people. In being largely responsible for this celebration, you have accomplished something that every American should be proud of.

Sincerely yours,
G. W. YORK

* * * *

Ocean City, N. J., Aug. 27, 1929

Telegram

Congratulations on your splendid memorial to Lincoln and on most appropriate recognition of the outstanding event marking his genius and statesmanship.

HERMAN L. EKERN

* * * *

Freeport, Ill., Aug. 28, 1929

I take this means of conveying to you my appreciation of your beneficence as shown in your gift and the program of yesterday. You have done

a wonderful thing, not only for the present generation, but for the generations that will come.

Sincerely,

J. G. LEEKLY

New York Life Insurance Co.

* * * *

Chicago, Ill., Aug. 28, 1929

Yesterday I had the pleasure of attending the exercises at the unveiling of the Lincoln statue so generously donated by you to the public. Let us hope that the eloquence of the occasion will not be lost and will have the salutary effect in making people Lincoln-minded.

Assuring you of my keen enjoyment of the occasion, believe me

Sincerely,

JAMES G. GEAGAN

* * * *

Madison, Wis., Aug. 28, 1929

It was a perfect occasion. There are few men who have the privilege in their lifetime of receiving the tribute from friends and neighbors and associates that came to you so generously and sincerely yesterday.

Ever yours,

PHILIP F. LA FOLLETTE

* * * *

Washington, D. C., Aug. 28, 1929

Thank you for the pamphlet telling about the unveiling of the statue of Lincoln yesterday at Freeport, and for the invitation to be present at

the ceremonies. You have done a noteworthy and vital thing for Illinois and for America's homage to Lincoln in presenting the statue to Freeport. I congratulate you and hope that the ceremony was all you hoped it to be.

Very sincerely yours,
People's Legislative Service
by DAVID J. LEWIS

* * * *

Chicago, Ill., Sept. 1, 1929

You have done a thing that will always be a monument to your civic interest in presenting to Freeport a statue of Lincoln. Freeport is indeed fortunate to be the spot upon which the great emancipator stood and uttered his epoch-making dictums. And Freeport is again fortunate in that you are one of its citizens.

Yours truly,
GEORGE DEWEY LIPSCOMB

* * * *

Chicago, Ill., Aug. 8, 1929

I think I will be able to attend the ceremonies on August 27th and will be very pleased to add my testimony to the greatness of the man who came from the common people and to express my intense admiration for Abraham Lincoln, who after long years of iron effort and of failure that came more often than victory, at last rose to the leadership of the republic, at the moment when that leadership had become the stupendous world task of the time. He grew to greatness, but never to ease. Success

came to him, but never happiness. Power was his, but not pleasure. Such was he, the mightiest of the mighty men who mastered days, Abraham Lincoln.

Yours very truly,
ELEANOR GRIDLEY, *President*
Abraham Lincoln Log Cabin Association

* * * *

Delphos, Kansas, Aug. 10, 1929

Thank you sincerely for the invitation to attend the unveiling of the Lincoln statue. Is it not wonderful how the interest and love of the people flow out to the memory of this great man as the years go by? Yet we feel that our tribute is fitting.
***We made our home here in 1870—a young Civil War soldier and his wife. We have remained here through these long years intervening and my husband has held the position of cashier of the above institution (State Bank) for nearly 49 years. We are both quite well, and I deeply regret that I cannot be present on this occasion.

Sincerely yours,
GRACE BEDELL BILLINGS

* * * *

Springfield, Ill., Sept. 9, 1929

I enjoyed my visit to Freeport on this important occasion, and think you should be congratulated on your successful celebration.

Yours very truly,
GEORGIA L. OSBORNE, *Secretary*
Illinois State Historical Society

Chicago, Ill., Sept. 9, 1929

I wish to thank you for the many courtesies shown me while at the celebration, and I enjoyed the exercises very much indeed. The description of the photograph of Lincoln's home shown at the exhibit should read:

Picture of Lincoln's home at Springfield, Illinois, made by J. A. Whipple of Boston, probably during the 1860 campaign. Mr. Lincoln is shown without a beard, standing inside of the fence with one of his sons, either Willie or Tod.

Sincerely yours,

JAMES ROSENTHAL

* * * *

Chicago, Ill., Sept. 14, 1929

Everyone with whom I talked in Freeport where I visited a few days ago expressed his gratification, not only for having the statue presented, but because it was so beautiful and dignified. We drove with friends around Taylor Park and looked at the statue from different angles, and all were hearty in their admiration of the pose, so appropriate to the commemoration of the Lincoln-Douglas event, and for the beautiful poise of the figure that makes it unique among all of the Lincoln statues we have seen. It is a magnificent gift for Freeport to possess.

Several spoke to me also, about how well the program was carried through, referring not only to your brief but appropriate and interesting address, but also the fitting introduction by Mr. Jack-

son, the felicitous speech by Mr. Phil La Follette, and the effective words of Senator Norris.

With the exhibit, the historical illustrated booklet on the occasion, and the publicity, every possibility for this celebration was so well covered that its success was certain.

It makes one prouder of Freeport, and I hope the Lincoln-Douglas Society and Mr. Jackson, Mr. Stocking and yourself can develop a continued interest in Freeport's most momentous history.

Yours sincerely,
EDW. L. BURCHARD

LETTERS FROM PERSONS WHO HEARD DEBATES

PERHAPS the most valuable contribution in unveiling data received lay in the letters sent the Lincoln-Douglas Society by persons who attended and heard one or other of the debates of 1858. In a sense, they are source material of the political history of the period and must therefore be of much interest and value. In these letters the historian of the future will find the color and abiding flame of patriotism that made the Free-port occasion an outstanding event in American history.

CHAPTER VII

LETTERS FROM PERSONS WHO HEARD DEBATES

Waverly, Iowa, July 12, 1929

I have just received a "Special" prepared by the Lincoln-Douglas Society of Freeport, Ill.

A story like that always wakes me up. I lived in Stephenson County after my parents had brought me there from Westphalia, Germany, in 1848, when I was five. I heard Abraham Lincoln and Stephen A. Douglas debate at Freeport, Aug. 27, 1858, when I was about 15. It was one of the great days for "this boy" which he has never forgotten. "When the southern hosts withdrew, pitting gray against the blue," I enlisted to save the Union. When the war was won I came to Iowa, and have been here ever since. I went to school about five years after I came here. Taught school and was county superintendent of schools for about five years. Fifty-four years ago I commenced to publish a county newspaper, and I have not yet been able to let go. I served three years during the war for the preservation of the Union in Co. G, 93rd Ill. Companys G and D of that regiment were from Stephenson County. I used to go to reunions in Freeport, but since my regimental comrades' names have nearly all been engraven on that monument at your court house, the real attractions

for me have mostly been buried with the "boys." My 86th birthday was July 6, 1929, last Saturday. In a feeble way I have helped to observe Abraham Lincoln's birthday at several different places in Iowa during the past forty years.

I would like very much to be in Freeport on that day. With substantial faith in fraternity, charity and loyalty, I am

Thankfully yours,

J. F. GRAWE

* * * *

Platteville, Wis., July 15, 1929

I have just noticed that the discussion between Abraham Lincoln and Stephen A. Douglas which took place in Freeport, August 27, 1858, is to be commemorated with appropriate exercises on August 27, 1929. It was my privilege to be present at this discussion and I remember many of the incidents as clearly as if they had occurred yesterday. I was living at Warren at that time and had come from Gettysburg, Pa., to take the mechanical charge of the Warren Independent, as it was named at that time, and of which I became owner a year later.

I went to Freeport by rail, arriving there about nine in the morning. Freeport had only one railroad at that time, but people came from forty to fifty miles distant, in wagons, on horseback, and many on foot.

Douglas was serving his second term as United States Senator, and was a candidate for re-

election, and as Illinois at that time was Democratic his re-election was almost certain. Lincoln was not as well known as Douglas, but it was not long before he held the closest attention of the audience.

I also was in the convention that nominated Lincoln the first time in the Wigwam. I also went to Springfield to attend that larger Republican rally, in September, 1860, and I saw and heard Lincoln speak there.

I became proprietor of the paper in 1859, and continued to publish the paper until 1864, when I sold the paper and went to Wisconsin where I became proprietor of the Platteville Witness. I retired from active duty some years ago, having sold this paper to my son, who is now publishing it.

Many of the incidents connected with that wonderful debate are still fresh in my mind. While I am in my 92nd year I still "*Keep on, Keep on.*"

M. P. RINDLAUB

* * * *

Mt. Carroll, Ill., July 24, 1929

I see you and other parties of Freeport are contemplating having the great honor of unveiling Lincoln's statue, which I also consider is a great honor to any man or laddie that was in Freeport on Aug. 27, 1858, and had the privilege of seeing as great a man as Abraham Lincoln later proved himself to the United States of America—riding around the streets of Freeport on a lumber wagon

with a board for a seat. I was one of the boys that had the honor of seeing him ride in the lumber wagon. It seems to me that the expression that Douglas had on his face sitting beside so great a man as Lincoln, showed that he felt highly honored.

I will relate how I happened to be there on Aug. 27, 1858. I lived with my uncle and aunt at Chambers Grove, Lena township, Carroll County, Ill. There were five lumber wagons started from my uncle's place. I got in the wagon of my uncle, and squatted in front on the hay. He didn't notice me until we got to Baxter's Springs where Shannon stands now, and watered the horses. We were too far along to be sent back so I stayed in and saw the show that day. The next place that we stopped was at Yellow Creek. There the man that drove the teams put flags on the horses' heads and started for Freeport. The first stop was at the Pennsylvania Hotel; after that I was busy watching the sights. The wagons were driven by the owners as follows: No. 1, Daniel Eversoll; No. 2, David Good; No. 3, John Keterman; No. 4, Dan Herb; No. 5, Mr. Heilman.

Respectfully yours,
WINFIELD SCOTT STITELEY

* * * *

Galesburg, Ill., July 25, 1929

Am sorry to say that on account of old age and poor health I will not be able to attend the unveiling of the statue of Lincoln, which I would en-

joy so much. Also I regret to say that being only a child of ten years, if I did hear the debate I remember only how the speakers looked. We girls thought Lincoln was homely and that the tall hat did not improve his looks, but that goes to show how little looks count. How we love our immortal Lincoln!

Yours,
MRS. N. P. SWENSON

* * * *

Galesburg, Ill., July 26, 1929

A boy ten years old at the time of the debate in Galesburg, my recollection is clear as to the coming of the people. Very many it seemed then, coming in all kinds of vehicles, partisanship shown by the delegations with their banners and flags, girls representing the states in the rack wagons, a noisy crowd whose enthusiasm and cheers for their candidate not even the chilly weather could restrain. We wondered, and our mothers worried, fearing that the girls in what then seemed thin costumes would suffer from the exposure. They did not know, as now, how little was required. The appearance of the speakers I remember well, the better perhaps because my father was one of the Lincoln reception committee, so I saw Lincoln nearer than I would have otherwise. But of the debate itself I understood little. I was near enough to hear the words and from my home teaching to know that everything Lincoln said was right, and that all from Douglas was wrong, but all else I

knew then was that I should and did cheer and "Hurrah for Lincoln" whenever opportunity offered.

Very truly yours,

G. W. GALE

* * * *

Alpha, Ill., July 26, 1929

I attended the Lincoln-Douglas debate in Galesburg in October 1858. I was in a martial band and followed by a wagon load of thirty-three girls all dressed in white and all Democrats and for Douglas.

Was also in Galesburg at their last meeting. I was a Civil War veteran and will be 90 years old on my next birthday. Would be glad to be in Freeport on your seventy-first anniversary. Am quite well and have kept a good garden. Helped start the first bank in this place and was its cashier many years. When I was eighteen I taught writing school.

Yours truly,

J. A. WIDNEY

* * * *

Washington, Ill., July 30, 1929

I was present at the Galesburg debate October 7, 1858, when not four years old, but I have a vivid mental picture of that vast throng, the delegations with their decorated wagons and beautiful horses, bands, flags, banners and the speakers too, but I was too young to grasp the significance of their

speeches. The speaker's stand was on the east side of "Old Main," on Knox College campus, to be sheltered from a sharp northwest wind.

Abraham Lincoln and Stephen A. Douglas in their debates aroused all the people and they went far to hear them. Mother, Brother Charles and I were visiting mother's sister, Mrs. O. B. Judson, and husband of Galesburg, and father, J. Randolph Scott, came from Washington, Ill., to attend the debate. He, as an "underground railroad" conductor, was a staunch supporter of Lincoln and his principles.

Miss Louisa Judson, a student at Knox and a member of our party of seven, of which I am the last survivor, told me that Mr. Douglas spoke one hour, and when Mr. Lincoln arose to speak Douglas said, "How long, O Lord, how long!", to which Lincoln replied, "The days and the years of the wicked are short." Lincoln was tall and lean; Douglas was short and fat. Thus each poked fun at the personal appearance of the other. Cowper said, "A man renowned for repartee will seldom scruple to make free with friendship's finest feelings." A great day never to be forgotten by those who were privileged to be present.

Prof. B. J. Radford, of Eureka, Ill., now past 90 years old, was at the Galesburg debate.

Sincerely yours,
(Miss) EMMA J. SCOTT

Decorah, Iowa, July 15, 1929

I was living with Pearce Tisdel, a farmer, five miles west of Freeport, a Douglas Democrat, as were his sons and daughters. One of the latter had married Hiram Bright, the Democratic mayor of Freeport, and Judge Douglas was their guest, as was my grandmother, Abigail Guyon Grattan, a revolutionary pensioner. My father had married for his second wife a daughter of Pearce Tisdel, making him a brother-in-law of the mayor, but as editor of a Republican newspaper, opposed to him politically. The morning of the debate, Mr. Tisdel's oldest son, whom I called Uncle Orlando, hooked a team to a lumber wagon and took a big load to the grove of big oak trees near town where a stout platform had been built for the speakers and notables. Uncle Orlando early secured a good position near the speakers and kept me with him as a reward for my enthusiastic Douglas Democracy. The judge spoke second, a magnetic, eloquent orator who swayed a sympathetic audience to his will and views, for Republicans in that great gathering were largely in the minority. My mental photograph of him remains vivid and distinct despite the seventy years that have intervened. He was rightly called, "The Little Giant." His leonine head, with its mane of shaking locks flung to the breeze, with his impassioned utterance, constituted a most impressive gesture. What did he say? What was his argument? I don't know. I simply knew that I was for him, just as the other

boys and young men were who later volunteered when he held Lincoln's hat inauguration day and declared for the Union.

I can remember more of what Lincoln said than what Judge Douglas said. It did not matter what the judge said, he was our man anyway, but we were curious about the black Republican abolitionist, and hostile. And then he disarmed us completely. Rising to his great height slowly he lifted both hands, saying distinctly: "What a great orator Judge Douglas is!" This tribute to our idol won him respect if not actual liking. And then those puzzling questions that lost him the senatorship and won him the presidency. He was so frank, so honest, so sincere that we felt sorry for his certain defeat not realizing that in his wisdom, as harmless as the dove, he had the wisdom of the serpent as events demonstrated. Truly they were very great men, loyal to the Union to which they both gave their lives that we might enjoy the blessings of the best government the world has ever known.

MARVIN TRASK GRATTAN

* * * *

Galesburg, Ill., July 27, 1929

I want to thank you and your society for the kind invitation to attend your celebrating the seventy-first anniversary of the Lincoln-Douglas debate, at your city.

I did not live in Galesburg then, but drove my older sister thirty-five miles to attend that meeting.

Our fathers and mothers, with their very limited means, wanted their children to hear the best of our speakers, hence we came. The day was cold, with a strong wind blowing, but the speakers were sheltered as much as possible from it by Knox College, where the speaking took place. Douglas was very hoarse, his voice rough and harsh and carrying only a comparatively short distance in the great crowd (20,000 estimated), while Lincoln's clear tenor voice carried to the very outskirts. Memory lets me see again the strong, earnest faces of our men, striving to clutch every word, for they had minds to dissect what was said.

Would it be in place to say that the mother and I are well past 83 years, both going strong and have spent fifty-nine and a half happy, loving years together?

Respectfully,
J. H. DUNN

* * * *

Evanston, Ill., July 28, 1929

I am writing to say that I was present on that occasion (the Lincoln-Douglas debate), and heard the debate. I was also introduced to Mr. Lincoln and shook hands with him and spoke to him and he to me. I also called on Mr. Douglas and shook hands with him. These distinguished men were having a reception at the Brewster House.

I have very clear and distinct recollection of them both. I was at this time a lad 16 years old and rode from Mt. Morris, my home, 22 miles in a

democrat wagon, so anxious was I to see and hear these champions on either side of such an absorbing political issue.

I am now a retired minister of the Rock River Conference living in Evanston.

Very sincerely yours,
O. F. MATTISON

* * * *

Freeport, Ill., July 30, 1929

I remember Lincoln and Douglas very well, being eleven years old at the time of the debate. I did not hear much that was said. There being a large crowd the children were pushed back by the grownups.

Sincerely yours,
(Mrs.) MARY A. KNORR

* * * *

Galesburg, Ill., July 31, 1929

Your communication addressed to Mrs. Eleanor S. Martin was opened by me. Mrs. Martin lost her eyesight about two months ago, and I am taking care of her mail.

We thank you for the kind invitation to her to attend the 71st anniversary of the Lincoln-Douglas debate. It would please her greatly were it possible for her to be present. In addition to the loss of her eyesight, she is physically unable to attend.

Mrs. Martin rode in a hayrack from Henderson, Ill., to Galesburg, Ill., in company with thirty-three other girls, each one representing one state.

She was born in Ohio and consequently represented that state.

Again thanking you for the kind invitation and assuring you of Mrs. Martin's desire to be present were it possible for her to do so, I am

Sincerely,

M. GRACE SMITH

* * * *

Galesburg, Ill., July 31, 1929

I was but a mere boy when I attended the debate between Lincoln and Douglas and while I heard them both I now only remember the first words of Douglas as he referred to the stature of Lincoln by quoting these words of scripture: "How long, oh Lord, how long!"

I should be happy to attend the unveiling of his statue at Freeport, but am over 83 years and would not be able to hear very plainly, though am yet able to sing the old songs of those days, and of the days preceding and following the birth of the Republican party.

Lincoln, the railsplitter, Lincoln, the emancipator, the greatest benefactor of the human race since the advent of Christ.

Yours,

J. M. DENNIS

* * * *

Abingdon, Ill., July 31, 1929

I was only fourteen years of age at the time of attending the Galesburg debate, and do not remember a great deal of the debate. I do, however,

remember sitting on the front seat in the wagon and carrying the banner. Our club was called "The Hickory Club" and our decorations were of hickory leaves pinned together with hickory stems.

I remember I thought Douglas was the best dressed man I had ever seen at that time, so I presume my attention was more directed to that than to the debate.

Yours very truly,
(Mrs.) SARAH E. HAMPTON

* * * *

Amboy, Ill., July 31, 1929

In reply to your letter I would say that I cannot come to Freeport, am too old and feeble. I am almost 87 years old. I was at Freeport at the Lincoln and Douglas debate, a boy of about fifteen years. Mr. Lincoln stopped at Amboy over night and went to Freeport on the special train. My father was a friend of Lincoln, and well acquainted with him.

Going to Freeport, Lincoln sat with my father and I was in the seat with my grandfather, just behind them. At Freeport, Col. Turner met the train with a company of soldiers, the first I ever saw. Mr. Douglas occupied the parlor at the Brewster House and was shaking hands with the people, but Lincoln was around the public lobby of the hotel. I do not remember much about the

debate; it was not of much interest to me. It was in a grove not far from the hotel.

I am sorry I cannot once more visit the place.

CHARLES E. IVES

(*Mr. Ives, however, attended the unveiling at Freeport—Ed.*)

* * * *

Fayette, Ia., Aug. 1, 1929

I was in my 20th year when I heard Lincoln and Douglas in 1858. In 1922 I was the oldest one to register that had heard that debate.

I was the first white child born in Freeport, Ill., (March 10, 1839). I have an old account book of my father's that dates back to 1837 when he had dealings with O. H. Wright, L. W. Gui-teau, E. H. Hide and other early settlers.

The laughable part of the Lincoln-Douglas debate was when Douglas accused Lincoln of attending bar. Lincoln in reply said, "I have attended bar, the same bar, I on the inside of the bar, he on the outside." I never heard so much cheering and hats in the air. Douglas laughed as loud as any one.

Have you an historical building? My father brought from England to Freeport in 1837 a turning lathe. It was a two-man power, the first lathe brought to Stephenson County.

Last Monday, thermometer 84, no wind, I walked 10 miles.

Yours,
J. J. EARLE

Rock Island, Ill., Aug. 1, 1929

You are quite right; Miss Mary Pike and I did present Mr. Lincoln with a banner in 1858 at Galesburg. We were a couple of Lombard students at the time. I was sixteen years old at the time. President Otis A. Skinner's son drove his father's bay team, Nancy and Hannah, and we rode in the president's Boston carriage. Last year I accepted the invitation of the president of Knox College and attended the 70th anniversary.

Yours very truly,
ELIZA CARR LUKENS

* * * *

Rock Grove, Ill., Aug. 1, 1929

My father, Ely Frankeberger, settled here at Rock Grove in 1835. I was born Dec. 7, 1845. Father moved to Freeport in 1856. I was at the Lincoln-Douglas debate Aug. 27, 1858. I was nearly 13 years old at the time. I served as a soldier in the Civil War. I am nearly 84 years old. I would write more but I am very nervous.

Yours truly,
AARON W. FRANKEBERGER

* * * *

Elizabeth, Ill., Aug. 1, 1929

Yours of 30th gladly received, and I thank you for the thought that I might be glad, doubly glad, to attend that meeting on Aug. 27th.

I have attended nearly every notable meeting that Freeport has had since the first state fair was

held there, and fail to remember of any failures thus far.

When you notice the blunders I make in writing I think I hear you say, "I would suppose he was a hundred," while I am only just an old boy in my 94th year. Never tired of loving the memory of Lincoln nor tired regarding Stephan A. with profound respect.

If alive I expect to be residing in Elizabeth with my daughter, Mrs. Sol Pearce, at time of that meeting. Even the thought of that old meeting gets into my feet almost before I know what I am doing. I know first what a green boy I was then and how the little I could tell my father of the meeting and the men when we came home, was I thought Douglas might be the better speaker, but I kind of thought Lincoln told the truth the best. I remember how badly I felt when father and mother smiled. That came to me as ridicule.

I almost think at times that Lincoln could never have been what he was had it not been for Douglas. And I think we would have had some more loyal men in the Republican party and in the army if they had all just been as loyal at heart as Stephen A. was.

My general health is very good but I begin already to fear that I may not be able to attend that rally on Aug. 27th. I think it will be easier to get there than when we drove that 40 miles in a lumber wagon. Good share of it was in the night.

I hope nothing may retard the complete progress of that meeting and hope I may be able to look again on that little portico on the front of the honored old Brewster where both these speakers stood and made their introductory bow to the living earth below. I am

A. H. WEIR

* * * *

Freeport, Ill., Aug. 1, 1929

I see several people are telling their recollections of Lincoln. I was at the Lincoln-Douglas debate in Freeport. Went in a lumber wagon, pole springs and home-made seats. Remember the day and place. My father was marshal of the day from Florence township; we had a large delegation; had our dinner in a grove close by. There were eight children of us along. My father was T. C. Gatliff. I am his daughter, Mrs. S. L. Heard. Will be 78 next birthday. Freeport, Ill., was my home all these years. I enjoy reading about the old settlers.

MRS. S. L. HEARD

* * * *

920 W. Stephenson St.
Freeport, Ill., Sept. 1, 1929

I remember well the day of the Lincoln and Douglas debate in Freeport. It created a great deal of excitement in our neighborhood. We were then living in a log cabin on a farm in Harlem, five miles west of here. Our family got up early in the morning and we all, father, mother, my brothers, Charles and Oscar, and I went to town to be

on hand to see and hear everything. Of course, as I was only eight at the time I don't remember anything of the debate except the two men, the crowds of people and that the Republicans all cheered for Lincoln as loudly as they could and the Democrats did the same for Douglas. I know it kept my father and mother busy looking after us three children to keep us from being injured by the crowd. Our nearest neighbor, Mr. Schofield, was strong for Douglas. Mr. Schofield was a short man and prided himself on looking like Douglas. My father was a great admirer of Lincoln and he and Mr. Schofield had many warm arguments about the debate and as to which of the two speakers was the better man.

(Miss) JENNIE HEARD

* * * *

Monmouth, Ill., Aug. 2, 1929

I certainly would like to be with you on the 71st anniversary of the Lincoln-Douglas debate. I am getting along in years and cannot leave home very well.

I was 12 years old when I attended the Lincoln-Douglas debate in Galesburg. I do not remember much what either said, but I remember well how they looked. Douglas was a short, heavy set man and was very earnest and sober in his speech. Lincoln was tall and very jolly and made many humorous remarks.

I went with my father, two brothers and four neighbors in a wagon with a mule team. I am now the only living one of this group.

It was a big day for me, for it was my first debate and I was for Douglas because my father was.

A year ago at the last anniversary in Galesburg there were very few there that I knew, as they had all passed away.

Yours truly,
P. E. WALLACE

* * * *

The Quincy Debate

Ruskin, Fla., Aug. 2, 1929

I see in the Tampa Daily Tribune a notice of the unveiling of the statue of one of the greatest men that ever lived—Abe Lincoln. I wish I could be there to witness it.

I can remember him as vividly as though it was yesterday. In 1858 I lived in Quincy, Ill., when Lincoln and Douglas were stumping the state together. They were advertised to speak in Quincy and I belonged to the club "Wideawakes." We had capes of black oil cloth with the name in honor of Lincoln. Then we had the Hickory Club in honor of Douglas. They wore black pants and a red shirt. We all had torches and drilled with them every night for two weeks before Lincoln and Douglas arrived. I was working in the daytime driving a baggage wagon for "old Pink," as we called him, and I remember well when they ar-

rived at Quincy that Mr. Douglas was well loaded with booze, and, to your surprise, perhaps, Mr. Lincoln took him by the arm and helped him into the bus, and they were taken to the Quincy House, and Mr. Pinkham sent a boy out to his home for a bottle of buttermilk for Douglas so he would be prepared to speak. (Mr. Pink was a Republican but that made no difference). They spoke from the court house steps. There must have been 10,000 people out, and how they did shoot sarcasm at each other, but with no anger behind it. They always addressed each other as Brother Abe and Brother Steve. (Nothing like that today).

Well, the next day, it was all arranged for them to go to Versailles and the Wabash had a special train prepared for them. The "Wide-awakes" and the "Hickory Club" boys also had a coach behind for the speakers and some of the leading politicians. We boys went on flat cars; none of us boys saw Versailles; we were run out into a big grove. This had been prepared for a grand stand with tables to eat from, and people had prepared barbecues,—pigs, turkies, geese, chickens—everything the country afforded, with enough to spare. We had circus lemonade and all we could drink. After dinner the speakers came and gave some long talks. We boys made a display of our drilling. We had fife and drum for music. We didn't play much, as we were too tired, but in the night after our drill I was assigned close to the speakers and gave some attention to what was said,

and I remember today a couple of jokes. Douglas was the one that always started, but Lincoln always had an answer; so Douglas accused Lincoln of keeping a grocery store and also having whiskey to sell, and then Lincoln answered (which was always at the proper time), "Yes, I concede the charge. But I can tell you Judge Douglas was the best customer I had." Well, the people all roared. After awhile Douglas accused a New York Republican of stealing half a hog at hog-killing time, and Lincoln answered by saying, "Yes, Brother Steve, I concede that he was a Republican, for if he had been a Democrat he would have stolen the whole hog." Another big roar.

Lincoln was a wonderful speaker. He had a feminine voice and shouted his words out shrilly, and could be heard a block away. Douglas was a fine speaker, but not so distinct as Lincoln. Douglas was after the type of Bryan, and looked something like W. J. I have never heard tell of anyone that resembled Lincoln. I sure would come to see the statue unveiled if I had the means to go, but I can't so I am submitting this to you to read. There will be many that can remember him like me. I was running a locomotive on Hannibal and St. Jo at the time he was shot, and when I got into Macon City the next morning and heard the news it seemed that one of my relatives was killed. He had made such an impression on my mind in my early

youth, and the days gone by were golden, golden days, that some of the oldtimers can remember.

D. F. SPENCER

* * * *

Polo, Ill., Aug. 3, 1929

I remember the day of the debate very well. My father was a very radical Republican and I did not like Lincoln nearly as well as I did Douglas.

The beautiful carriage in which Douglas rode and the wonderful horses took my eye, of course. I was but seven years old, and the lumber wagon Lincoln was in made no impression on me. I did not like him at all. My father was quite angry with me. I was too young to understand what they were talking about, but Lincoln kept the crowd laughing most of the time.

Very truly yours,

MRS. M. J. KLOCK

* * * *

Lanark, Ill., Aug. 3, 1929

Will say I have heard them debate. They both were out for President. The debate was, shall we crush slavery by force? Lincoln wanted slavery abolished by force. Douglas wanted to buy all the slaves and free them. Lincoln claimed there always would be some to buy and would cost too much. Lincoln claimed they could crush the South in a few days and free the negro race all at once. I remember well Lincoln had a voice like a roaring lion. Douglas could say more in a minute than Lincoln could in a half hour. I was a boy

13 years of age. My father took me along. He was deeply interested, as his father was a slaveholder in North Carolina at the time.

I cannot be present, as I am crippled up from an automobile accident last fall.

Thanking you for your courtesy.

SAMUEL LEONARD

* * * *

Dixon, Ill., Aug. 3, 1929

Your letter concerning the unveiling of the statue of Lincoln, Aug. 27th, received.

I am very sorry I cannot give you any recollections of the debates between Mr. Lincoln and Douglas. I was a child not yet eight years old.

I well remember the crowd, and the fact that Mr. Lincoln laid his hand on my head is a circumstance well worth remembering. I am not sure of attending the ceremonies. Will if I can.

Yours,

MRS. CHARLES G. SMITH

* * * *

Lena, Ill., Aug. 4, 1929

I had the privilege of attending the Lincoln-Douglas debate in Freeport in 1858. I was a boy of 12 years old at the time. My father was one of Lincoln's abolitionists and well I remember how Lincoln and Douglas looked. I have the silk hat my father wore on this occasion.

H. C. MONTAGUE

Osceola, Iowa, Aug. 20, 1929

I heard the debate when a child of eight years at Galesburg, Ill., and you will see from my age at the time that the music of the bands and the gaily decorated speakers' stand with its flags and bright colors were perhaps more of an attraction to me than the more learned debates, but I can yet recall the two speakers, Lincoln—the tall serious man, and the short heavy set Douglas—even a child could see the contrast as they stood on the platform which was erected on the Knox College campus.

I should be very much pleased to attend the ceremonies but I will not be able to do so. I wish to congratulate your city in having such a citizen as Mr. Rawleigh who presents the statue of our beloved Lincoln. I am

Very respectfully,
(Mrs.) ANNA W. KARR

* * * *

Freeport, Ill., Aug. 6, 1929

I heard the debate. I was ten years old. I remember seeing Lincoln and Douglas on the platform and heard them debate. My father, Mike Bangasser, was one of the early settlers. He located three miles south of Freeport. He rigged up a wagon so we and some of the neighbors could come and hear the debate. There was a wagon with a hayrack on it which stood close to the curbing on Douglas Avenue. Matt Schmich and I

crawled up on it so we could see the speakers and hear the people shout.

FRANK E. BANGASSER

* * * *

Freeport, Ill., Aug. 7, 1929

I was eleven years of age, when I heard this well-remembered debate. What impressed me most was the radical difference in appearance of these two men. Mr. Lincoln was very tall, and slender, while Mr. Douglas was short, and rather stout. I suppose I paid more attention to this fact than I did to the debate.

I have but to close my eyes, and I can see myself riding upon the float. I remember Mr. Lincoln's carriage very distinctly. Of course, at that time, I did not fully appreciate just what the Lincoln-Douglas debate meant to Freeport, but now I realize and appreciate very much the fact that I was present at that great historical event.

Respectfully,
MRS. JOHN MOERSCH

* * * *

Galesburg, Ill., Aug. 10, 1929

Your cordial invitation to attend the ceremonies of unveiling the statue of Abraham Lincoln on Aug. 27, 1929, at Freeport, Ill., is received, for which I sincerely thank you. I think now it will be impossible for me to attend. I attended the Lincoln-Douglas debate at Galesburg, Ill., Oct. 7, 1858. As you requested me to give my recollection of the debate I heard, I will state that Judge

Douglas appeared to be completely whipped in the debate and that Mr. Lincoln scored a complete victory.

Again thanking you, I remain

Very truly yours,

B. H. KIDDER

* * * *

Durand, Ill., Aug. 11, 1929

Many things have prevented me from replying to yours of July 30th written to my late husband, Truman Sweet, who departed this life July 8, 1925.

He was a member of Co. G., 8th Ill. Cav. Vols. He had seen Mr. Lincoln many times, and with members of his company helped to search for Booth. He had been at Mrs. Surratt's house.

He was born Sept. 25, 1846, and attended the debate of 1858 when a lad of 12 years, and also attended the fiftieth anniversary of the debate and sat on the grandstand with the others who had attended the first one.

My father, James Ritchie Weatherhead, pioneer of Winnebago County, attended. He was very strong for Lincoln, and as a little girl, I remember how he enjoyed hearing that famous debate. I am past 81 years now, but remember the storm we had that day and my father saying "the wind blew the door down in the depot at Freeport."

Yours,
MRS. TRUMAN SWEET, SR.

Warren, Ill., Aug. 12, 1929

Your letter received and duly noted. Will say I attended the Lincoln and Douglas debate in Freeport. I went with my uncle, Perry Schadel, with whom I lived.

He drove a team of large black horses and a lumber wagon from two miles east of Orangeville, Ill. We arrived a little late, but we heard the speeches and were with the great crowd of people. Douglas seemed more dressy than Lincoln, but Lincoln seemed to get more of the applause of the people. I was 12 years old. I may be at the un-veiling.

Yours truly,
(DR.) ADAM C. SCHADEL

* * * *

Niles, Mich., Aug. 12, 1929

I was 17 years old when the great Lincoln and Douglas debate took place in Freeport, Ill., Aug. 27, 1858.

Before daylight the people began to fill the town. In the afternoon there was a parade. First came the band and the city officials, then 20 lords and ladies on horseback; then every sort of conveyance from a carriage to a hayrack, and hundreds of people on foot in the parade. In the afternoon was the great Douglas and Lincoln debate in a little grove near John A. Clark's residence. The stands were of simple rough construction. Mr. Douglas arrived first with his friends, the Democrats. He also made the first speech. Most

of his talk was denouncing the black Republicans. He finally got so warmed up he had to take off his collar. One old chap in the crowd made the remark it would just go around a girl's waist it was so large. When he had finished his talk Mr. Lincoln, smiling and cool, took his stand opposite Mr. Douglas. He did not berate the Democrats, but told good jokes. Then came the subject of slavery; how human beings were whipped and punished in every cruel way, bought and sold, and then he asked the question—"Was this right?"

AMELIA L. JOHNSON (nee Bowers)

* * * *

Idlehurst Heights, Hayward, Wis., Aug. 14, 1929

I was only a child of thirteen years at the time of the Lincoln-Douglas debate in 1858, but I remember very well father bringing us to Freeport from Cedarville in a wagon on that day.

I was too small to recall much about it, but I can always see Lincoln with his sad, kindly face and Douglas with a jolly, good-natured look. It was four years later, in 1864, when Lincoln ran for President the second time, that I rode a horse in a procession, two of my friends and myself representing the colors of "Old Glory."

I am sorry that I will not be in Freeport August 27th to attend the seventy-first anniversary of the Freeport debate.

Sincerely,
AGNES A. HENNEY

Mt. Sterling, Ohio, Aug. 15, 1929

I was born Feb. 6, 1846, five miles west of Oneco on the road to Winslow and was 15 years, 6 months and 20 days old when my father took me to Freeport, August 27, 1858, to hear the two greatest orators, as Horace Greeley said in his paper. It was not all comprehensible to me but I could cheer and wave flags. When Douglas made a score for his side how the Democrats would cheer, then when Lincoln got up it was the Republicans' turn to cheer which we did in grand shape.

For many years I knew the names of the residents from Oneco to Winslow beginning with Sam Davis, the bee man and apple raiser. We lived in the west part of Oneco where the road turns north to go to Monroe, Wis.

I am a Civil War veteran who enlisted Feb. 17, 1862, at Camp Dennison, 12 miles east of Cincinnati, Ohio, and was badly wounded April 7, 1862, at Shiloh.

My uncle, Abner Howe, and wife, died in Freeport in the last ten years, and I have several cousins still living there. When the war closed April 9, 1865, and I was discharged, I stayed in Ohio and was in a book store forty-two and a half years.

May I hear from you? Have not seen Freeport since 1866.

Yours truly,
HENRY HILDEBRANT

Waterloo, Iowa, Aug. 15, 1929

I notice in the Waverly, Ia., Independent Republican the statement regarding the unveiling of the statue of Abraham Lincoln on Aug. 27, and I want to write you that I with my wife and daughter intend to stop over from a trip to Muncie, Ind., to be present on this occasion.

I wish to say that I was one who heard the great debate of Lincoln and Douglas. When but 15 years of age I enlisted and served in Co. H, 37th Illinois Infantry two terms—over four and a half years and I was one of those who attended the re-enacted debate seven years ago, with my sister, Mrs. Anna E. McCammon, then of Cedarville, Stephenson County, where I was raised.

I commend you for the gift of this memento to our idol President, who gave his life to this nation.

Most respectfully,
P. WOODRING

* * * *

Keokuk, Iowa, Aug. 16, 1929

My father, Mr. Thomas Fletcher, heard Lincoln speak in Carthage, Ill., in 1858, and he said that when Lincoln rose to speak he thought he was the "homeliest" man he ever saw, but when he finished he thought him the "handsomest"; his face was illumined by his thoughts, his whole appearance transformed.

I thought this an interesting sidelight on the personality of our hero and martyred President.

Respectfully,
M. K. FLETCHER

* * * *

Fort Worth, Tex., Aug. 19, 1929

Associated Press dispatches announce that Freeport is to have a great unveiling of a Lincoln statue on the 27th, commemorative of the great debate held in Freeport in 1858 between Lincoln and Douglas. They also state that all persons now living who were present at that debate are requested to be guests of honor on that occasion.

I have the honor to be one of those now living who were present on that great historic occasion. I was then a school boy about eight years old. My mother was a widow and our home was on Carroll Street. Perhaps some of the old settlers now living may remember Charley Macune, as I grew up in Freeport. On the day of the great debate a lawyer friend of our family, Eldridge Little of Peoria, who was personally acquainted with both Lincoln and Douglas, went down to the Brewster House to call on them prior to the debate and took me with him. Douglas scarcely noticed me when I was presented; he was standing and the large room was full, all standing, and many of them talking and smoking. There was a large per cent of the Democratic party in Freeport then that were Irish or German and they were visible. In Lincoln's room

it was different. He was sitting down by a table; it was quiet, with only a few gentlemen present and our turn soon came. Lincoln lifted me up and sat me on his knee and talked to me in a kind fatherly way that completely won my heart. He never knew what a blessing he was to the widow's son.

Short preliminary speeches were delivered from an iron balcony on the front of the second story of the Brewster House, above the main entrance, the immense throng of hearers standing and blocking the street for over a block in each direction.

I think the speakers used about three hours each in their debate. Douglas was a great orator and moved his hearers to wild and vociferous applause by his oratory, but Lincoln gave a feast of brain and sense that went much deeper into the hearts of the hearers.

I regret that I shall not be able to attend the unveiling, for it is about 1200 miles from here and would cost a hundred dollars or more. I congratulate you and the citizens of your city and county on the wisdom and patriotism you have displayed in this great enterprise, and I believe that it will be recognized by future generations as a just and worthy tribute to a divinely-inspired and divinely-led patriot, statesman and martyr.

C. W. MACUNE

Lena, Ill., Aug. 19, 1929

Due to my grandfather's (Mr. Silas Clay's) inability to write very well he has requested me to reply for him in regard to your invitation to the ceremonies of August 27. He regrets very much to say that he will probably be unable to attend. He regrets this very much not only because he is one of the few now living who witnessed this spectacle but because he announces with pride the fact that his parents were among the early residents of Freeport.

Mr. Clay's father ran one of the two first blacksmith shops in town and Mr. Clay himself was born, in 1845, in the first brick house in Freeport, just east of the court house.

Mr. Clay does not remember much of the debate, but he does remember that each man said something to this effect: Mr. Douglas said that buying the slaves would be the cheapest and best way to settle the slavery question; but Lincoln said that if slavery could not be defeated at the polls it must be done at the point of the bayonet. Mr. Clay says that he remembers this because all but one of the party he was in company with were Democrats and this question created quite an argument among the men.

Mr. Clay was also a close friend of Mr. Walker of the Frank-Walker stage line which operated through this part of the country and which carried many of the noted men of the day, among whom were Lincoln and General Grant.

If my grandfather could write this letter himself he could relate some very interesting tales of the early days, I am sure.

Yours sincerely,

STIVER L. CLAY

* * * *

Mount Morris, Ill., Aug. 19, 1929

I am in receipt of your recent favor extending me an invitation to be present at the unveiling of the Lincoln statue, Aug. 27, in commemoration of the 71st anniversary of the battle of the giants in your city.

Stranded by the flood of years (87 years old) and in poor health, I can only express my thanks for the honor conferred upon me, and hope that the celebration may far exceed your most sanguine expectations.

I assure you nothing would afford me greater pleasure than to join with you in the festivities of that day, but circumstances over which I have no control preclude the possibility of my presence.

The events of that day 71 years ago are as vivid in my memory today as if they had occurred in recent years and if I had the pleasure of a verbal chat, might recall some things of interest to you.

Under present conditions "though the spirit is willing the flesh is weak."

Cordially,

(Mrs.) HARRIET MIDDOUR

Galesburg, Ill., Aug. 19, 1929

Your kind invitation received. My excuse for not complying with your request more promptly is owing to the fact that my four-score years with four additional ones have left their impress with the usual infirmities incident to old age which have prevented me from carrying out plans that otherwise would be a pleasure. It was a great pleasure to be present at the celebration in Galesburg similar to the one you have in view. I was fourteen years of age when the original celebration was held at Knox College and I recall very distinctly the group of couples on horseback that escorted Mr. Lincoln from Knoxville to Galesburg, and as one of the group alluded to was to be my future husband, of course, it added interest to the occasion.

I regret that I cannot be with you on the occasion referred to in your note, but trust it will prove a great success and that the name of the giver of the beautiful statue (Mr. W. T. Rawleigh) will ever be held in grateful remembrance.

Yours most cordially,
(Mrs.) CHARLOTTE BULL OVERSTREET

* * * *

Galesburg, Ill., Aug. 20, 1929

Thank you for the invitation but am afraid that I cannot accept, much as I should like to. I have a birthday the 17th of September and will be 88 years old and can only go in an automobile.

While my people were from the south (Virginia to Kentucky) they were Whigs and then Re-

publicans. My grandparents were the first white couple married in Kentucky, Della Hawkins and William Samuels. They were housed up in a fort from the Indians. My father, James M. Samuels, was the youngest of eleven children and he was born in 1811. Most of the children were born in the 1700s.

Excuse me, but what you wanted to know is what I remember of the day, not my personal history.

We went from Henderson in a float drawn by four horses, thirty-three girls to represent the states, all dressed in white, and one black to represent Kansas. It was a cool day and the speaking was out of doors, but there was so much enthusiasm and such a crowd that we didn't mind a little thing like that.

I remember very well how cool and calm Lincoln was and how red in the face Douglas got and finally resorted to personalities. He said Lincoln sold at the bar and Lincoln's retort was, "When I was on one side of the bar my friend Mr. Douglas was on the other." No one hearing the historic utterance will ever forget it, and the impression it made when he said, "The nation cannot exist half free and half slave." As we went over, a man holding a sign post hollered, "Hooray for Fred Douglass." When a Democrat went to him and shook him and told him that Fred Douglass was a negro

he changed and said, "Hooray for that other Douglas, not the negro."

LYDIA A. SAMUELS

P. S. Mary Adrain Nelson, Compton, Ill., was there with a Warren county delegation.

* * * *

Sycamore, Ill., Aug. 20, 1929

The society's letter of the 19th came to me today on my return from Michigan, Wisconsin and Minnesota. I have a very rare lot of Black Hawk muster rolls, including the one of Capt. Abraham Lincoln in his own hand writing as well as many general orders, but these papers have now attained so great a value that I keep them in a safety vault in Chicago and time enough to go in and bring them out is not allowed me. Indeed even though I had the time I am compelled to say I would not care to bring the Lincoln muster roll away from its home in Chicago.

As a child I heard the Freeport debate. I have an indistinct recollection of it per se, but that is all because I was but three years old. My father took my mother and me up there to Freeport from our home in Dixon where I was born and raised.

Respectfully,

FRANK E. STEVENS

* * * *

Mineral Point, Wis., Aug. 20, 1929

I was twenty years old at the time of the Lincoln-Douglas debate at Freeport, and my memory can recall no particular information regarding it.

Mineral Point was well represented, there being so many the railroad company gave us a special car and rate for the round trip.

There was a big demonstration of cheering on the arrival of the men and the ride to the hotel.

Mr. Douglas was very well dressed and reserved, Mr. Lincoln was plainly dressed and greeting all he could, by word or hand.

Later I had the privilege to shake hands with Mr. Lincoln, remarking that I had come down from Wisconsin for that purpose. His reply was a hearty hand shake and the remark, "Be a good boy and vote right."

I want to thank you for the invitation to the unveiling of the Lincoln statue on the 27th. It is my intention to attend and surely will if I may be permitted to do so.

Yours very truly,
JOHN P. HARRIS, SR.

* * * *

Elizabeth, Ill., Aug. 23, 1929

I want to thank you for the thought you had of me that prompted you to send me so nice a lot of typing as I have just received from your committee. Hope I may be able to give you a good shake next Tuesday.

But my hopes are just a bit shaky as to whether I will be able to attend that meeting. Broken down foot arches, together with my years, may keep me at home. I can say that no occurrence in recent years has pressed so strongly on my boyish desire

to go some place as has this one to attend that Lincoln and Douglas celebration next Tuesday.

From the year 1855 I think I have attended every such meeting that has occurred in your city. And years prior to that I attended a big Lincoln meeting in Mt. Carroll while attending the academy there. I have forgotten and cannot learn just what the meeting was, but I know it was a Lincoln meeting. Schools were released for part of the day. Most all older people will remember that at one time there lived in the Plum River country a lot of good fellows who prided themselves a bit in being called "rail splitters." All wore red shirts and long beards and moustaches. They chopped wood, burned lime and charcoal and they made or split rails. That they might maintain a high dignity in the coming campaign they concluded to do something that everybody could not do—built a platform 18 x 24 feet on three low truck or log wagons, or log trucks. On this they placed 3 or 4 large rail cuts—12 feet long, and several men with mauls, wedges and axes and with sleeves of their red shirts rolled up and collars far open were splitting those logs into nice rails. What their shirts did not cover of their chests, was covered with immense beards and moustaches. Now that little buggy was drawn by 16 pair of oxen managed by two or three drivers with whips, in keeping with all else.

At times you might think there was a musket regiment cracking those whips. When asked what

they were going to do with the nice rails they replied they did not think it good business to send Jeff Davis and his advisors to . . . 1 unprotected and they were going to fence him in with those nice all oak full-length goods. I think some of those men tried to assume a sort of Lincoln smile when called "rail splitters."

If my doctor and my folks think I am able for the occasion, I hope to be there. With my biggest wishes for complete success of the affair, I am

Respectfully,

A. H. WEIR

* * * *

Huntington Park, Los Angeles, Calif.

Aug. 22, 1929

I have just received your kind letter inviting me to attend the unveiling of a statue of Abraham Lincoln in Freeport, Ill., on the 27th proximo.

Thank you very much therefor, and if 2,000 miles did not intervene, and the approaching 90th anniversary of my birth did not prevent, I certainly would be present with you on the noted occasion.

It is quite fitting that the worth, character and nobility of the great Emancipator should be thus commemorated; for the name and fame of Abraham Lincoln does now, and always will, adorn the brightest pages of all recorded history.

Most truly yours,

(Col.) F. W. HART

P. S. I am enclosing a copy of an article commemorating the 70th anniversary of the memorable debate between the great commoner and Douglas that I heard Aug. 21, 1858, at Ottawa, Ill.

* * * *

Col. Hart's Account

Just seventy years ago the 21st of this month I had the good fortune and great pleasure of hearing Abraham Lincoln and Judge Stephen A. Douglas in the first of their memorable debates. It took place at Ottawa, Ill., on August 21st, 1858. I was then eighteen years of age. I esteem it as one of the most happy events of my life, and though the intervening years would span the life-period of two generations, I still retain almost as vivid recollection of the memorable incidents as though they were of recent occurrence.

People came from near and far to hear the noted orators. Only few came on the railway trains as railways were then scarce in the state. They mostly came in prairie schooners, in wagons, buggies, etc., also on horse back, mule back, jack back and ox back, while thousands came on foot, probably. An older brother and I walked some twelve or fourteen miles to be present on the occasion. Many came the previous day and surrounded the city like an invading army. They slept over night in their wagons in vacant lots, in the parks and elsewhere. The few hotels were quite inadequate to entertain the multitude. At the time ap-

pointed—2 p. m.—twenty-five thousand—it was estimated—had assembled in the public park to hear the renowned speakers.

Abraham Lincoln was known and well known in his own state, while his opponent possessed a national reputation. Judge Douglas was the pride of the Democratic party and the most influential member of the United States Senate in his day. It was my good fortune also to hear this eminent statesman on two or three occasions, as I was then a resident of Illinois.

He was eloquent almost beyond compare, handsome, and of fine personality and address, while Mr. Lincoln was tall, homely and unprepossessing.

Mr. Lincoln was less eloquent than his opponent, in the common acceptation of the term, yet in speech was strong, forceful, pungent. His masterly presentation of a subject or defense thereof was incomparable to that of any man I ever had the pleasure of hearing.

In the debate above named Judge Douglas spoke for the first hour, by previous appointment; Mr. Lincoln an hour and a half, and the judge closed in a half hour rebuttal.

Judge Douglas had obtained the repeal in Congress of the Missouri Compromise and the enactment of the Kansas and Nebraska bill. This opened the floodgates of slavery and permitted its extension into newly acquired territory, and into

the states to be carved therefrom, provided such states should so determine by their votes.

Senator Douglas spent the first hour in explaining and justifying his position in Congress touching the above named legislation—for by his imperious attitude he had alienated many of his hitherto devoted friends of the North.

These territories of Kansas and Nebraska when seeking admission into the Union as states could decide by their constitutions whether they desired to come in as slave states or free, and he (Douglas) did not care how they voted, whether it were up or down.

This is what he denominated as popular sovereignty—dubbed as “squatter sovereignty” by the masses. This contemplated extension of slavery did not appeal to the people—not even to the conservative wing of his own party—and Judge Douglas must have known and felt it there and then. It was received with scant approval and no applause. The learned judge wisely drew his remarks to a close.

Before doing so, however, he turned to pay Mr. Lincoln a compliment—a left-hand compliment—which he soon had occasion to regret. He said that he had long known Mr. Lincoln, and known him to honor him. That while he and Mr. Lincoln were aspiring for position in old Sangamon County, Illinois, that he (Douglas) was an honorable school teacher; his friend Lincoln was an honorable grog shop keeper; that he could spoil

more whiskey than any man in town, and the manner in which he would preside at horse and foot races was enough to excite the admiration and win the praise of all who were present and participated. Of course, the Democratic hats and shouts went up.

All eyes were now turned to Mr. Lincoln, who arose to speak. His friends were a little apprehensive lest he should fail to recover from this sally of wit. Their fears were soon allayed, however. He remarked that few men liked to hear themselves misrepresented, but when misrepresentations became so gross and perverse as they had on this occasion they were apt to amuse more than anything else. He did not know, he said, that he ever kept a grog shop, as alleged by the judge, but he did recall that he kept a store on one counter of which whiskey was sold, and while he was officiating on one side of the counter Judge Douglas was on the other and the best customer he had. He further had this to say that while he (Lincoln) had long since left his side of the counter he was sorry to say that up to this very hour Judge Douglas had not left his side. This rejoinder evoked prolonged applause.

Mr. Lincoln now had his audience and held it closely to the end. Without many preliminaries he went quickly to the heart of his subject. Judge Douglas was soon put on the defensive and confronted with his own record. Mr. Lincoln propounded many questions as to his vote in Congress,

and requested an answer yea or nay, and that he could take either horn of the dilemma he chose. No matter which way the judge answered it got him in a compromising position. He fairly squirmed under the interrogatory pelting that Lincoln gave him.

The great commoner bitterly assailed the position of Douglas on the extension of slavery in new territory, asserting that as Congress held full control over these new territories it possessed the undoubted right to prevent the introduction of slavery therein. Mr. Lincoln was not inclined to interfere with the institution of slavery in states where it already existed, but felt Congress should prevent, with all the power at its command, its further extension. In this position he was fully indorsed by Republicans and many northern Democrats as well.

He further said that in his judgment the country could not remain long half slave and half free. It must be all one or the other. A house divided against itself could not stand. The country thus divided could not long endure. He did not expect the house would fall, he did not expect the country to perish, but it must cease to be divided. Either the opponents of slavery would prevent its further extension and place it where the public mind would rest in the belief that it was in the course of ultimate extinction, or its friends would extend it more and more till it became lawful in all of the states, old as well as new, north as well as south.

Thus did Mr. Lincoln continue for an hour and a half discussing the profound questions that were then agitating the minds of the people. The enthusiasm attending his closing address was unbounded and it was said that 5,000 people rushed forward to shake his hand and congratulate him. However, but few could reach his stand, as several seized and threw him over the shoulders of a crowd and took him to the nearby home of the mayor, where he was entertained. Thus ended the first of a series of debates the greatest ever heard probably on American soil.

* * * *

Peoria, Ill., Aug. 23, 1929

Your kind invitation to attend the 71st anniversary of the Lincoln-Douglas debate to be held in your city, received. I am obliged to decline on account of the state of my health. Allow me to congratulate you in advance, as I feel it will be a pleasant occasion calling forth memories of past years.

I was a young girl of less than 16 years when the debate was held which I attended in Galesburg in 1858 and of course do not remember much that was discussed on that occasion.

As early as that date the franchise for women was not dreamed of, politics was left for our fathers and brothers to take care of. If a woman ventured to launch her bark on the sea of politics, she was immediately dubbed "women's rights."

I have very little recollection of what was brought out by the speakers on that occasion. I suppose my thoughts dwelt more on the vast crowd assembled, and meeting friends.

I remember very well how the speakers looked, "Our Abe," with his tall lanky figure, plainly and quietly clad, while his opponent the "Little Giant" was nicely dressed and quite dapper in appearance. Our little town of Henderson, like all other townships, sent delegations, making all roads leading into Galesburg very busy.

In that day if more than two or three were going, the lumber wagon was used. All the delegations consisted of long strings of those wagons. Ours was led by one in which a tall hickory pole was mortised in the front from which the stars and stripes floated.

On the sides of this conveyance seats were made to accommodate the number of young ladies to represent the then states in the union. We were all dressed in white except the youngest, who wore black, representing Kansas. Trusting the day will prove all you hope, I am

LOUISA J. NELSON

* * * *

Monmouth, Ill., Aug. 26, 1929

It's impossible for me to be at the unveiling of the monument of Lincoln. A fine thing to do for the coming generation.

My early home was ten miles from Monmouth. As a boy of 17, in company with several

other boys, I went horseback across the prairie to Galesburg, Oct. 6, 1858, to hear Lincoln and Douglas debate. Those were hot times politically and every young boy was alive to things in our U. S. As a boy I was interested in other things too when we got to Galesburg, and so much has happened between then and now I cannot tell you very much about it. It was a very disagreeable day, cold, bitter wind. The platform was against one of the outside walls of one of the Knox College buildings, which served as a windbreak, but the voices of the speakers carried very little beyond the first few seats of the crowd.

Douglas was short, heavy-set and always well dressed, neat and in style. Lincoln seemed to care less for his personal looks, but that was forgotten when he began to talk. How times have changed! Then the ladies wore those awful full long skirts, capes, mitts, poke bonnets, shoes, etc. The men always in dark clothes, the same suit for summer and winter—long tail coat, scarf tie wrapped tight around a high collar, plug hat, gloves, boots, etc.

Last October I went to Galesburg in an auto on fine paved roads. I was seated on the platform with about 70 others who had heard the speeches in 1858. Some of the old songs were given by a quartette, and two men who represented Lincoln and Douglas gave short extracts from their speeches. I was in the awful Civil War for over four years, have several gunshot in my body. Was a farmer for many years, but have been in town about

twenty years. I am 88 and my wife 82, and we hope to celebrate our 61st wedding day, Sept. 8.

Very truly,
CAPT. J. C. HOGUE

* * * *

Algona, Iowa, Aug. 26, 1929

Regret very much that it is impossible to be with you on the 27th. Your invitation came today.

May this statue be a real object lesson to all, and especially to the youth of our land, to lead a good and honest life, as Lincoln did, and be imbued with his sentiment: "With charity for all and malice toward none."

Sincerely,
(Mrs.) JULIA F. BRACE

* * * *

Niagara Falls, N. Y., Aug. 29, 1929

I was born at Adeline, or what was at that time called Rummeltown, 86 years ago last Friday (the 23rd) and lived many years in Stephenson County, in Cedarville, near Dakota, in Freeport, near Scioto Mills, on a farm and therefore am known to many of your readers. Have in my scrapbook letters of mine printed in the Freeport Journal years ago.

Am sorry that I could not be in Freeport on Tuesday last. Seventy-one years prior to that date, when I was 15 years and four days old, I was left at home to walk after the plow while the men drove into town to hear that epoch-making debate.

I enlisted in Freeport on the 8th of October, 1861, with Co. G., 46th Illinois Regiment. Wish you could tell us who of the Stephenson County companies of that regiment are still living.

E. D. BAKER

* * * *

THE JONESBORO DEBATE

From "My Life Story," by late Mrs. Amy Davis Winship, Stephenson County Pioneer

Jonesboro, in the southern stronghold of Douglas, had been at one time the metropolis of southern Illinois. The building of the Illinois Central Railroad, however, had left it to one side of the main traveled way, one and a half miles from the station at Anna, and its decline had been rapid. This place was chosen, on the suggestion of Lincoln himself, for the scene of the debate.

At the largest hotel in the town both Lincoln and Douglas were staying on the day of the debate. A wide hall ran along one side of the inn, and off this two large public rooms opened, one immediately back of the other. In one of these a reception was being held for Douglas, a dais having been put in place to accommodate the senatorial candidate. Into this room the people surged,—hundreds filed past the platform to do him honor, bowing, shaking hands, flattering him, pledging loyalty and votes, and receiving in return from the stocky little man bland smiles and persiflage.

I quickly slipped past this room into the one beyond. On the threshold I stopped, instantly conscious that the room was occupied. At that moment I beheld the towering presence of Lincoln, a lone figure standing beside the window. I went up to speak to him, and as we gazed out upon the people coming in to the debate, a mule team drove up, carrying a group of Douglas adherents with a campaign banner mounted upside down on its standard. I said, "Do you see that? Here where Douglas holds sway is ignorance; up north where you are the champion we would find no such display of ignorance, we would see intelligence." His only answer was a mild chuckle. That was my introduction to Abraham Lincoln, at Jonesboro.

The debate was soon on. Douglas was given the first half hour; Lincoln the hour, and Douglas, the closing half hour. As Douglas sat down after the first lap of the debate, Lincoln arose slowly, as was his custom. Very deliberately he drew from his pocket a Democratic newspaper, unfolded it, and commenced to read. The article was to the effect that when Douglas had suggested to him that they have this debate at Jonesboro, it had frightened Lincoln so that he had fallen ill and gone to bed. They supposed that Lincoln's political doctors, Trumbull and others, would have him nursed up so that he would be able to meet Douglas in the debate, but that when he (Douglas) was through with him, his knees would be so weak that he would not be able to get off the platform.

At this point Lincoln turned round to Douglas, who was sitting immediately behind him. For just a moment he fixed his eye upon him, and then turning to the audience, he said: "I don't know what to think of this man Douglas. I don't want to say that he would deliberately tell an untruth. It's just as though he took hold of me, giant-like, and forced me down among these people, when he very well knows that it was my suggestion that we come down here to hold this debate. He trots me down into Egypt! Why, I'm not afraid of this people. I know this people; they're my neighbors and friends. I was born right over here, while Stephen A. comes from away up in the Green Mountains of the North, and did not know and does not know what this people may and may not be induced to do. But when Douglas gets through with me and I'm not able to get off this platform, I want my friends to let me stay here until I rot."

There was a visible warming of the audience toward Lincoln when he put forward the claim of neighbor and friend and understanding, and there was wild applause at his closing preliminary remarks. The history of the debate I need not repeat; it was a continuation of the theme of the Freeport encounter. Though successful in the senatorial campaign, when later the northern faction of his party nominated Douglas for the presidency, if the North and South had stood together as a unit, nothing could have defeated him. But the South said, "We can't trust this man Douglas,"

and nominated Breckenridge. The result was the defeat of Douglas, and the election of Abraham Lincoln as a candidate of the Republican party.

There was but one public conveyance in Jonesboro, and this had been taken over in advance by the friends of Douglas. In it he was taken about the streets, accompanied by the town band and hundreds of his followers, and later to the station at Anna.

Lincoln and two or three of his Springfield friends, together with the editor of the Springfield Journal, my husband and myself, walked the mile and a half to the station. It was a most enjoyable walk, and anything but a gloomy group who took that tramp together. The chief subject of banter was Lincoln's excellent condition after the debate, in the face of the tragic prophecy of Douglas.

Of the seven Lincoln-Douglas debates, I was fortunate enough to have heard five. With my husband, a member of the State legislature at the time, I attended the meetings at Freeport, Jonesboro, Charleston, Quincy and Alton. The debate at Freeport, which contributed directly to the election of Lincoln to the presidency, and the encounter at Jonesboro, where he was completely ostracized, represent the two extremes. The recollection of the scene at Jonesboro, however, more than any other, has remained with me through all the intervening years of my life.

*From Mrs. John A. Logan's
"Recollections of a Soldier's Wife"*

When Lincoln debated with Douglas at Jonesboro in southern Illinois there was hardly a man in the audience who was not a Douglas partisan. For Douglas there were roaring cheers and for Lincoln silence. But the audience had to laugh at some of Lincoln's stories, they were so drollly told and so pat. He set many of his listeners to thinking; and when they had done thinking they were his adherents. Loyal as my husband was in his convictions that Mr. Douglas' policy was the only one which could hold the Union together, he had gained in that campaign an impression of Abraham Lincoln that made him smile when people in the East were depressed at seeing an inexperienced "backwoods politician" at the head of the nation with civil war impending. Though Mr. Douglas gained the senatorship, Mr. Lincoln's was the real victory, for his campaign won him the Republican nomination from Mr. Seward in 1860 and gave us the great man for the great crisis.

* * * *

THE ALTON DEBATE

The following notice which appeared in the Alton (Ill.) Daily Whig of October 13, 1858, gives an idea of the general manner in which each of the seven debates was conducted:

Last Great Discussion

Let all take notice, that on Friday next, Hon. S. A. Douglas and Hon. A. Lincoln will hold the seventh and closing joint debate of the canvass at this place. We hope the country will turn out, to a man, to hear these gentlemen.

The following programme for the discussion has been decided upon by the Joint Committee appointed by the People's Party Club and the Democratic Club for that purpose.

Arrangements for the 15th inst.

The two Committees—one from each party—heretofore appointed to make arrangements for the public speaking on the 15th inst., met in joint Committee, and the following programme of proceedings was adopted, viz:

1st. The place for said speaking shall be on the east side of City Hall.

2d. The time shall be 1½ o'clock, P. M. on said day.

3d. That Messrs. C. Stigleman and W. T. Miller be a committee to erect a platform, also, seats to accommodate ladies.

4th. That Messrs. B. F. Barry and William Post superintend music and salutes.

5th. Messrs. H. G. McPike and W. C. Quigley be a committee having charge of the platform, and reception of ladies, and have power to appoint assistants.

6th. That the reception of Messrs. Douglas and Lincoln shall be a quiet one, and no public display.

7th. That no banner or motto, except national colors, shall be allowed on the speakers' stand.

On motion, a committee, consisting of Messrs. W. C. Quigley and H. G. McPike, be appointed to publish this programme of proceedings.

W. C. Quigley
H. G. McPike

Alton, Oct. 13, 1858

To the above it should be added that the C. A. & St. Louis Railroad will, on Friday, carry passengers to and from this city at half its usual rates. Persons can come in on the 10:40 A. M. train, and go out at 6:20 in the evening.

Of this debate Eunice Fuller Barnard writes:

"At the final debate at Alton, near St. Louis, Douglas' voice gave out, and his words came like barks. And here men far and near began to look with wonder on the staying power of Lincoln. Could it be possible that the country lawyer had worn out his great antagonist spiritually also, they asked themselves. Some even went so far as to prophesy that this debate sounded the knell of slavery and paved the way for the election of Lincoln as President of the United States."

THE CHARLESTON DEBATE

At Charleston each (Lincoln and Douglas) had a van of 32 girls dressed in white—somewhat dusty on arrival—to represent the 32 states. Lincoln's girls wore blue velvet caps wreathed in green and bearing a single white star, while a mammoth banner beside them read:

“Westward the star of empire takes its way,
the girls link on to Lincoln; the mothers were for
Clay.”

* * * *

Philadelphia, 2229 N. 53rd. St:

I am an aged clergyman having been a pastor
for more than fifty years.

I was only eleven years old in 1858 during the
Lincoln and Douglas debates but I can never for-
get the interest that was taken in those debates. My
father attended at least three of those debates,—
the ones at Freeport, Galesburg, and Quincy.

Sincerely yours,
T. B. TURNBULL

INTERVIEWS WITH PEOPLE WHO REMEMBERED LINCOLN

IN addition to the letters received from persons who recalled the Lincoln-Douglas debates, a number of interviews were obtained from pioneers and others who saw or heard Lincoln and Douglas and gave their recollections of them. They follow herewith:—

CHAPTER VIII

INTERVIEWS WITH PEOPLE WHO REMEMBERED LINCOLN

By WILLIAM CLINGMAN, Freeport,
Civil War Veteran

Yes, I attended the Lincoln-Douglas debate here in 1858, and I remember the occasion so well that I could almost reproduce the scene from memory.

I was 13 years old at the time, and we were then living on a farm a mile north of Cedarville, where my folks were among the early settlers. I came to town with my father, a distance of seven miles, that day, in a lumber wagon, there being, of course, no buggies then. My older brother, Jason Clingman, who is still living on a farm in Dakota township, may have been with us, as he was at the debate, but I do not remember him going with us. I was right near the platform before Douglas and Lincoln came up. When I first saw Douglas, who came first, he was standing right beside me, and right beside him was his fine carriage, although my brother said Douglas walked to the platform from the Brewster House. Pretty soon Lincoln and his friends came driving up. He came in what was known as a Pennsylvania wagon, a sort of a lumber wagon with a high, wide box. I first remember Lincoln and three or four of his

friends standing up in this wagon, and then jumping out and going by me to the platform. The platform was about three feet high, and made of planks laid on legs I think. It faced what is now Douglas street, and was perhaps only a couple of rods in the grove from the street. Around it were plank seats for people to sit on, as we have now at celebrations. The timber in the grove was quite open, and most of the trees about six inches in diameter. I don't remember the weather. I guess I didn't mind it, as I stayed until the debate was over. I remember one thing very distinctly, there was one fellow in the back, a slim fellow leaning against a tree with his arms around it. Douglas became somewhat excited, and referred to Lincoln's crowd as "black Republicans." Every time Douglas said "black Republicans" this fellow would sing out "white." Douglas, as every one knows, was short and thick-set, and very well dressed, while Lincoln was more ordinary looking. I remember when Lincoln asked Douglas his famous questions that he read them from a piece of paper, and then handed the paper to the stenographer, who, I believe, was Robert Hitt, afterward a member of Congress.

I do not recall that Lincoln told any stories, but he did put some fun into his talk. There were eight or ten gentlemen on the platform.

I think Lincoln and his party drove around the block from the front of the Brewster House and came up beside the grove. His wagon was

drawn by a six-horse team, which was then somewhat in vogue. The driver of such teams sat on the horse on the left side of the rear team and guided the front team with one line. When such driver wanted the horses to turn to the right he gave a sharp jerk, when he wanted them to turn to the left he made a slow pull on the line. As I remember also this driver had a blacksnake whip coiled around his shoulder. He may have been a Pennsylvanian, as they drove that way in Pennsylvania.

* * * *

UNCLE DROVE TEAM FOR LINCOLN

L. F. Rowland, 77, farmer of Haldane, Ogle County, as a child attended the Lincoln-Douglas debate at Freeport. He has a mental picture of Lincoln, but has forgotten how Douglas looked. He says his uncle, John Wolf of Lanark, drove the team which hauled Lincoln to the debate, but his picture is that of four horses instead of six. Mrs. Wolf was his mother's sister. They lived three miles southeast of Forrester. What is now Shannon was then called Baxter's Springs and he remembers they waited there for the Baxter Springs delegation to join them.

By H. P. KOCHSMEIER, Freeport

Yes, I remember Abe Lincoln. I was at the big debate, and remember it very well, although, of course, a small boy at the time. I was 78 on Saturday, July 27th. My brother, one and a half years younger, was also there. I remember there was an orchard the other side of Clark Street, and also a field and a fence. I remember also that there was a large crowd, and that people came driving in, not only with horses, but with oxen.

My father came to Freeport 82 years ago. He was a carpenter and furniture maker. Reading the other day of a ship crossing the ocean in four days, I was reminded that it took my father fourteen weeks to cross. He died about 15 years ago, 88 years old. My mother died a year and a half later at the same age. Of course, my people were at the debate also.

I think the water for the Brewster House, at the time of the debate, was taken from a spring at the corner of Washington Street between Liberty and Benton Streets. I think I dug the first well here to draw what we called "Wisconsin water." Waddams is the highest point in Illinois, and when an early settler began digging a well folks laughed at him, but when he had gotten only 85 feet down he struck an artesian flow.

I used to work at Waddams where John H. Manny made the Manny reaper, said to have been the first real reaper in the world.

By MRS. ANN MCKIBBEN LEASE, Ridott

I remember the Lincoln-Douglas debate very well, as I was then 12 years old, being now 83. Many of the incidents are still very vivid to me. I remember particularly that the two Lombard brothers made a big hit with their singing. One of their songs was "Old Shady's Comin'." It seems to me there were more than two in the group singing, but am not sure how many.

We were living at Ridott. When my folks came there they lived in a cabin 14 by 14. When they built a new house they moved in before breakfast, so you see they hadn't much to move. During the Civil War our carefree days were over. Times were hard and most of the men were away, so I worked in the harvest field and hay mow, milked cows, etc. Later I became a school teacher. A group of smart country girls grew up around Cedarville about this time, including Alice and Jane Addams, Mrs. J. H. Henney, Mrs. C. C. Wolf and Mrs. Amy Davis Winship. Some of these were at the Freeport debate. Alice Addams and I attended Rockford College together.

George Wolf of Dakota township, Stephenson County, attended the Freeport debate. "I had to ride 13 miles on the axle of a lumber wagon to get there," he said, "but I didn't mind that then. I was only nine years old at the time, so do not remember much of the day except the large crowds in town and how they came in every sort of way.

As there was considerable drinking in those days, I believe there were a number of street and saloon fights in the evening after the meeting."

Isaac Myers of Freeport as a lad of 14 accompanied his father to hear Lincoln and Douglas debate at Freeport. They were then living on a farm about 7 miles north of Freeport, in the town of Lancaster, and Mr. Myers says his father was in the wagon conveying Lincoln to the grove where the debate was held.

Mr. Myers says Lincoln chatted a little with his father on the way to the debate and patting him on the shoulder said, "You will have quite a helper there, Mr. Myers, when that boy grows up."

* * * *

By LOUIS ALTENBERN, Freeport

As a boy of ten, I was in Freeport for the Lincoln-Douglas debate. We were then living on a farm near Lena. My father, Conrad Altenbern, was a stone mason from Germany. At the corner of Oak and Homer Streets are five small stone houses, one of which is said to be the second oldest house remaining in Freeport. My father built the second one from the corner about 1851 as our home. Soon afterwards he sold the place for \$300 and bought a 40 acre farm near Lena.

Although I was in Freeport, I don't think I heard the debate, as I was too much interested in a barbecue. With my father and mother I got up at four o'clock to get an early start. When we got

to Preston's Bottom, three miles out, we struck a line of oxen and horse teams and from that time on they had to stop every few rods and wait for the line to move. We did not reach Freeport until 11 o'clock. At the court house corner a big barbecue was in process. The carcasses of three beefes were being roasted over a ditch about six feet wide and six feet deep, and free sandwiches were being served. Here I remained for the barbecue. As a farm boy I was hungry after a light breakfast at four o'clock. I got in line, got my sandwich, got in again and got another until I had three when I had enough. I remembered that in the parade was a wagon drawn by a horse and a mule. At the back was a sort of human figure and a man with a heavy mallet would strike this figure on top of the head and drive it down between the shoulders, something as we now see at fairs. I forgot if it had any political significance or not.

Rufus M. Cook, aged 96, living at 32 East Clark Street, Freeport, heard the Lincoln-Douglas debate and previously had heard Lincoln at Sterling. As a boy, Mr. Cook lived among the hills of New England. Here also grew up John Wentworth, who later became mayor of Chicago, and was known as "Long John" Wentworth. In the 50's the Cooks were living on a farm in northern Illinois. One day Rufus Cook learned that John Wentworth was to speak at Sterling and went to hear him. While there he heard the crowd calling for "Lincoln." He asked a neighbor whom Lin-

coln might be. The neighbor answered simply, "Abraham Lincoln." This was Cook's first meeting with Lincoln. Of his experience at the Freeport debate his daughter writes:

"News again! A debate between Stephen A. Douglas and Abraham Lincoln at Freeport, to take place in a few days. The home-spun suit once more. Another long ride across the prairie—and Freeport. Horses, wagons, farmers carrying lunches—farms, hamlets, towns and cities all represented.

"Down the principal street came two fine horses, drawing a very impressive glittering equipage and seated therein was the silky, scholarly Douglas, smiling and bowing with much self assurance. Good! This was what the people had come to see.

"Then—a great oak wagon, with six farm horses driven by John Wolf, a farmer, and with others in the wagon, a tall, gaunt figure, a high black cloth hat and instead of a linen duster, a shawl. Yes, duster, shawl—it was all the same to young Rufus. Here was his man—here was Abraham Lincoln!

"While the notables dined in the palatial Brewster House, young Rufus and a friend passed the time by trying on hats. One has to do something while people eat. Douglas' hat! So large! Rufus tried it. The high silk hat came down and rested on his shoulders. And there was the tall black cloth hat. That was the hat Rufus would try. And

wasn't it wonderful? It fitted his head perfectly. One more joy added to the day. Then came the speeches. Many persons of note upon the platform. Hundreds of expectant faces turned in their direction. Some one introduced Stephen A. Douglas. Perfectly groomed, elegant, cultured, he made a wonderful impression and when finally he sat down many and favorable were the comments. 'Hard to beat that.' 'He's our man.'

"Then Lincoln. The greater part of the crowd had never seen him. Dismayed and sorrowing, young Rufus sensed the disappointment and even a subdued titter here and there. Well—they didn't know. So different from Douglas, yes, so different!

"He began to speak and the crowd became still. So still. Men were no longer conscious of themselves or their neighbors. The great crowd became a breath, a mind, a soul—one soul—as the message came through from Infinity, obediently reflected by the one who could forget self completely, and allow the words to bear the thought, never dreaming how once it had been born, it would fill the whole earth and never, never die. Freedom brought to the consciousness of men.

"Back to the Brewster House, shaking hands with the speakers. Young Rufus shook the small, white hand of Stephen A. Douglas, then approached his idol and when his hand was held in a great warm clasp and his eyes looked into the beautiful,

gray ones above him, the day for Rufus was glorified. "The lumber wagon again!"

* * * *

F. P. Cross, of Rockford, said that as a boy he attended the debate with his father and has occasion to remember it very well as after the debate Lincoln shook hands with him. His father sat near the front and being an ardent Lincoln man he applauded vigorously every time Lincoln made a telling point. After the debate was over Lincoln came down and said he wanted to shake hands with the man who had applauded him so heartily and after doing so also shook hands with the boy.

* * * *

Clinton Miller, 75, Freeport, attended the debate as a boy. At the Ottawa debate, he says, Douglas had sprung some questions on Lincoln and as Lincoln was unprepared for them he thought he would come back at Douglas in the same way at Freeport. Mr. Miller was in the crowd with his father at the debate but being only four years old he cannot remember much of the occasion, but has become one of the local authorities on it since. He seems to remember that Douglas wore white pants and one correspondent of the time said Douglas had on light trousers. Miller is not inclined to think Lincoln was shabbily dressed. He had a nice black coat, he says.

He relates one incident not generally recorded. He says while Lincoln was receiving friends at the Brewster a local character named Wad

Robey, who was about Lincoln's size, was made to stand up beside Lincoln to see which was the taller, and homelier. "Of course, Lincoln was only an ordinary citizen then," says Miller, "so his friends could make more free with him then. Lincoln though was very solemn while at Freeport, except when chatting with friends."

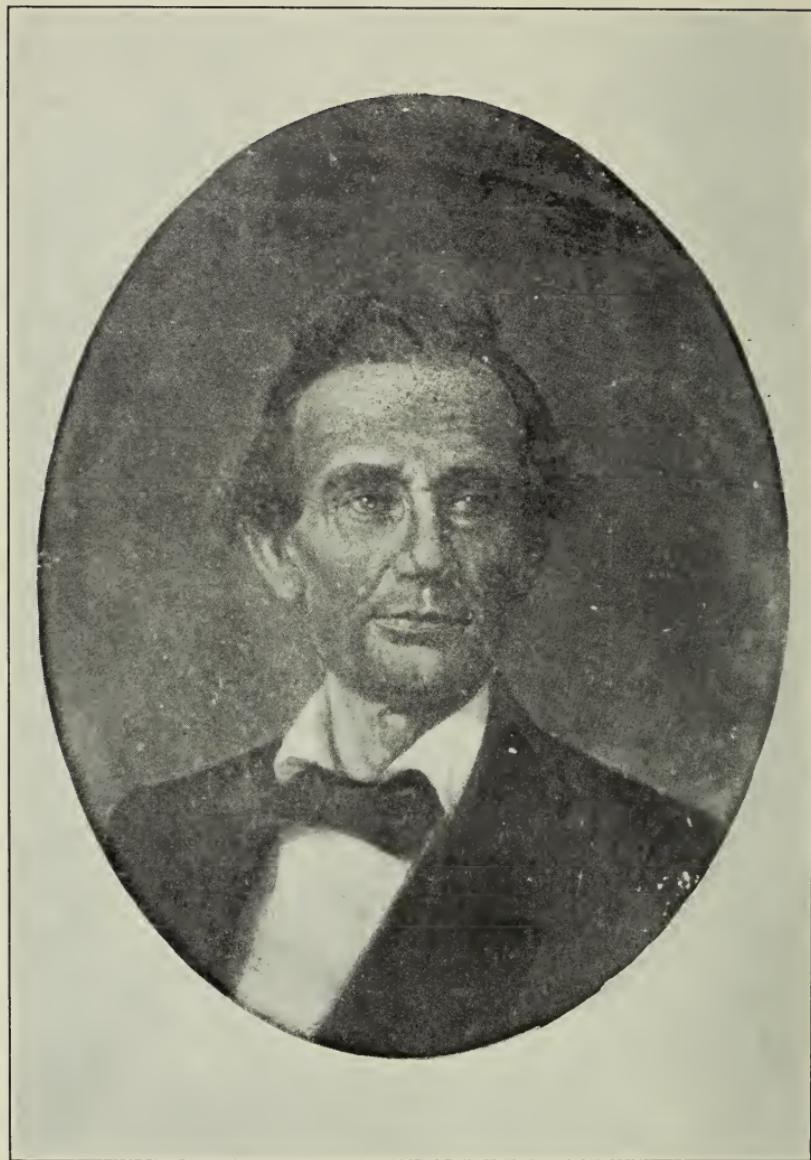
Miller says Douglas stayed at the home of Postmaster Brawley on Galena Street, four blocks north of the present soldiers' monument. The house is now gone and the Brawleys later moved to Chicago.

* * * *

"I was 15 years old when I heard the Lincoln-Douglas debate, and so remember the day quite well," said N. L. Mitchell, Civil War veteran of Freeport, at the unveiling. "You may be interested in knowing that fourteen Grand Army men of our John A. Davis post here were at the unveiling, besides a number from other places nearby, such as J. J. Earle, Fayette, Ia.; A. W. Frankeberger, Rock Grove, Ill.; P. Woodring, Waterloo, Ia.; A. H. Weir, Elizabeth, Ill. The present members of John A. Davis post are: Elias Baker, W. H. H. Baker, William H. Blosser, Daniel Burrell, Jason Clingman, William Clingman, B. G. Cooper, Chris Daugenbaugh, W. T. Ewing, John Gail, Alex. Kaufman, T. N. Kaufman, A. G. Kellogg, A. F. Korf, James McGurk, N. L. Mitchell, John Moersch, Dr. L. H. Palmer, John W. Snyder, W.

H. Waggoner. Also William Barnds is living in Orangeville, Frank McCurdy in California and Charles Wright in Rockford."

LINCOLN-DOUGLAS AND PIONEER
EXHIBITS DISPLAYED



LINCOLN AT THE TIME OF HIS NOMINATION

Hesler made 100 of these portraits when Lincoln was nominated for the Presidency. At the present time only one is known to be in existence. It is loaned to the Old Lincoln Room of the Old Court House (Woodford County, Illinois) by Dr. George W. Zeller, who has kindly consented to its reproduction here.

CHAPTER IX

LINCOLN-DOUGLAS AND PIONEER EXHIBITS DISPLAYED

ONE of the outstanding features of the unveiling program was an exhibit of Lincoln-Douglas and pioneer relics and mementos. This exhibit which attracted the interest of thousands was put on display in the Masonic Temple, a fine new building in Freeport, and was in charge of a committee headed by Mr. Charles F. Stocking, Freeport author and historian. It included selections from many of the most notable public and private collections in Illinois and surrounding states.

A list of the Lincoln-Douglas Exhibits is given on the following pages. Space does not permit listing the pioneer relics displayed through the courtesy of C. E. Brown, Wm. Dunham, Geo. H. Ford, Albert H. Griffith, John H. Hauberg, Robert D. Jack, and Katherine Treft.

<i>Key</i>	<i>Exhibitor</i>
A	Mr. Paul A. Angle, Lincoln Assn., Springfield, Ill.
B	Barkers' Book Store, Springfield, Ill.
C	Mr. H. W. Fay, Lincoln Monument, Springfield, Ill.
D	Mr. John W. Fling, Wyoming, Ill.
E	Freeport Library Collection, Freeport, Ill.
F	Mr. E. H. Gloege, Monroe, Wis.
G	Judge Henry Horner, Chicago, Ill.
H	Mr. Jas. Ilgen, Cedarville, Ill.
I	Illinois Historical Society.
J	Mr. Edward Jacob, Peoria, Ill.
K	Mr. J. B. Oakleaf, Moline, Ill.
L	Mr. Fred Orr, Peoria, Ill.
M	Mr. P. G. Rennick, Peoria, Ill.
N	Mr. Jas. Rosenthal, Chicago, Ill.
O	State Historical Museum, Madison, Wis.
P	Mr. Harold Ward, Sterling, Ill.
Q	Mrs. C. C. Wolf, Freeport, Ill.
R	Dr. George Zeller, Bartonville, Ill.

BOOKS
LINCOLN BIOGRAPHIES

Exhibitors

*For key, see
page 207*

“ <i>Abraham Lincoln</i> ,” German and Swedish, 1878 (also later foreign ed.)	G
“ <i>Autobiography of Abraham Lincoln</i> ,” large frame.....	J
<i>Bacheller</i> , “A Man for the Ages” 1 vol. deluxe edition.....	K
<i>Beveridge</i> , “ <i>Life of Lincoln</i> ” 4 vol. manuscript edition, full Levant, handtooled, superb illustrations.....	K
<i>Cathey, Jas. H.</i> “ <i>The Genesis of Lincoln</i> ”.....	B
<i>Charnwood, Lord</i> , “ <i>Abraham Lincoln</i> ”.....	B
China, printed in: “ <i>Life of Abraham Lincoln</i> ”.....	J
“ <i>Elias Grip-Abraham Lincoln</i> ”.....	G
<i>Fish, Dan'l</i> ; Reprint Lincoln Bibliography.....	K
<i>Great Statesmen</i> : “ <i>Trial of Abraham Lincoln by the Great Statesmen of the Republic</i> ”—paper book. Published 1863, N. Y. <i>Metropolitan Record</i> . Lincoln is prisoner at the bar, charged with traitorous conduct while President. Witnesses are great statesmen whose statements show why Lincoln is not conducting the war in accordance with constitutional provisions. Witnesses: Douglas, Webster, Clay, Hancock, Calhoun, Hamilton, Morris, Madison, Col. Mason, Elbridge Terry, Jackson, Washington, Jefferson, Judge Gaston.....	D
<i>Grube</i> , “ <i>Abraham Lincoln in Sweden 1878</i> ”.....	G
<i>Herndon & Weik</i> , “ <i>Life of Lincoln</i> ” first issue, first edition ..	D
<i>Herndon's Lincoln</i> (3 vol.)	B
<i>Ill. Cent. Railroad</i> , Abraham Lincoln as Attorney for, published in 1905. Lincoln successfully defended suit against railroad. Edition limited to 200 volumes. Book contains photograph of Lincoln at time he was attorney and photostatic copies of parts of his brief.....	D

BOOKS
LINCOLN BIOGRAPHIES (Con't.)

Exhibitors

*For key, see
page 207*

Lamon, Ward H., "Life of Lincoln." Author was U. S. Marshal of District Columbia and great friend of Lincolns. This book has become very valuable recently.....D

Markham, "Lincoln—Man of the People" etched.....K

Miller, "Portrait Life of Lincoln".....B

Milner and Neale, "Lincoln and Liquor".....B

Onstott, "Lincoln and Salem".....B

Pago, "Abraham Lincoln in New Hampshire".....B

Scripps, "Life of Abraham Lincoln" campaign copy (Manuscript read by Lincoln before being published).....K

Snider, "Abraham Lincoln" (2 vol.).....B
 "Lincoln at Richmond".....B
 "Lincoln in the Black Hawk War".....B

Stephenson, Nathaniel Wright, "An Autobiography of Lincoln".....B

Stevens, "Reporter's Life of Lincoln" sponsored by Missouri Historical Society. Limited to 600 copies containing recollections by people who knew Lincoln in New Salem, Springfield and Washington. Also considerable memoranda from original letters and documents in the Bixby (St. Louis) collection.....D

Thayer & Eldridge, "Life and Public Services of Hon. Abraham Lincoln....." paper covered book, published 1860G

"Tribune Extracts" Life of LincolnG

Townsend, "Lincoln the Litigant".....B

"Wigwam Life of Lincoln" first biography in book form. Author unknown. Title page "Abram," with contradictory statements throughout book.....D

BOOKS
LINCOLN BIOGRAPHIES (Cont'd)

Exhibitors

*For key, see
page 207*

Whitney, Henry C., "Life on the Circuit with Lincoln" published 1892. Rare, very valuable. Original edition sold only after many years of effort. Author tried several cases with Lincoln and was with him in many courts D

LINCOLN DEBATES

"*Abraham Lincoln*—The Tribute of a Century," McChesney, 1910, (Freeport Debate by Hon. Smith D. Atkins) .G

Burroughs: "Political Debates between Abraham Lincoln and Stephen A. Douglas;" also "The Two Great Speeches of Lincoln in Ohio in 1859".....G

Debates between Lincoln and Douglas in Illinois, Campaign of 1858 B

Debate with Douglas and War speeches in paper.....G

Published Lincoln-Douglas Debates.....G

Sparks: "Lincoln-Douglas Debates, 1858" (published 1908) .G

White: "Lincoln & Douglas Debates for Addresses".....G

MISCELLANEOUS

Booth, John Wilkes—Brances Wilson..... B

Facsimile of Book by Lincoln..... K

"*How I Twice Eloped*" only novelette ever sketched by Lincoln J

"*In the Lincoln Country*"—Newcomb..... B

"*Lincoln's New Salem*" finely illustrated; text and illustrations etched K

Republican National Convention Proceedings, 1860, Press and Tribune Tract, No. 3..... D

BOOKS
MISCELLANEOUS (Cont'd)

Exhibitors

*For key, see
page 207*

The Terrible Tragedy at Washington (Assassination of Lincoln) : Barclay & Co., Philadelphia, Pa., 1865.....F
Tribune Almanac and Political Register for 1861.....J
Washington in Lincoln's Time (3 vol.).....K
Wigwam Convention Proceedings that nominated Lincoln the first timeK
White House Gallery—Official portraits of the Presidents.
 Steel engraving of Lincoln by Carpenter.....J

BOOKS
USED BY LINCOLN & ASSOCIATION ITEMS

Arithmetick, Pike's (1822) Read and studied by Lincoln.....J
Artemus Ward, "His Book" (1862) with many comic illustrations. In Conwell's "Why Lincoln Laughed" author makes much of Lincoln's enjoyment of this book...J
Bible, Lincoln's Use of.....K
Bunyan, John, 1784, Read and studied by Lincoln.....J
Christian's Defense, Jas. Smith (1843).....J
Dictionary, Webster's (1833).....D
Equity Digest, Vol. 3, Barbour & Harrington, owned by Lincoln and Herndon, bearing imprint of firm name....D
Euclid, Elements of, Robert Simpson, M. D. (1793).....J
Grammar, Kirkham's, (1837) studied by Lincoln & Ann RutledgeJ
"Joe Miller's Jests," (1739) One of Lincoln's favorites; copy found in his work desk after assassination, with important state papers between its leaves.....J
Reader, Murray's English, 1837.....D
Theology, Paley's National, 1837.....J

CARTOONS

*Exhibitors**For key, see
page 207*

And They Shot Men Like Lincoln (with picture of dude)	K
Brittania Sympathizes with Columbia (with Taylor's Tribute in poetry)	K
Butler hanged, the negro freed on paper, 1863.	N
Death of Southern Confederacy.	K
Faith of the Railsplitter, Abe Lincoln, 1861.	N
French Cartoons (18) Punch.	K
Grand Sweepstakes for 1862. Won by the celebrated horse emancipator	N
Hard Case, Vallandigham's Reception by his friend Jeff, New York, 1863.	N
Honest Old Abe on the Stump, Springfield, 1858.	N
Idol of Abolition	N
Last Round by Potomac, 1862.	N
Lincoln in Caricature	K
Lincoln-Hamlin Curtain (poster)	G
Little Game of Bacatelle between Old Abe, the Railsplitter and Little Mac, the Gunboat General.	N
Mac, the Giant.	N
No communion with the slave holder, March 2, 1861.	N
Old Abe opening a park for the people in Richmond.	N
School Master Abroad at Last (Strong, published by)	N
South Carolina Topsy in a Fix, (Strong)	N

LETTERS

DOUGLAS LETTERS (*Photostatic copies*)

Four Letters (photostatic letters)	I
Lamphier (Editor Springfield Register) confidential letter to, (Aug. 3, 1850)	I

LETTERS (Cont'd)

*Exhibitors**For key, see
page 207*

LINCOLN LETTERS

<i>Bixby</i> , to Mrs. (facsimile).....	J
Photostatic copies, 1854, 1857, 1858.....	I
Six letters, 1859, 1860	I
Four letters, 1858	I
<i>Truesdale</i> , to, with portrait (photostatic copy).....	K

MISCELLANEOUS

Assassination, letter concerning, written by member of orchestra, Ford Theater, August 13, 1863.....	K
<i>Nasby</i> (original) by David Ross Locke, "Petroleum V. Nasby" (a favorite book of Lincoln's).....	J
<i>Nicolay</i> , Lincoln's Private Secretary, to Edward T. Well-er, Hartford, Conn. dated May 26, 1902, re: purchase of a Lincoln chair and two "Browning" letters*	D

*One of the "Browning" letters is that written by Lincoln in 1832 in which he discussed with Mrs. Browning his escape from his promise to marry Mary Owen. It is now in the Huntington Library, Pasadena, California.

MEMENTOS
HANDWRITING, LINCOLN

<i>Check</i> , cancelled personal, Sept. 28, 1859, payable to publishers Sangamon Journal.....	D
<i>Check</i> , last Lincoln drew	K
<i>Commissioned Vellum</i> , signed by Lincoln and Seward.....	K
<i>Declaration at Law</i> , Lincoln Handwriting, first year of practice, 1837	N
<i>Dispatch</i> , Lincoln to U. S. Grant, April 7, 1865.....	I

MEMENTOS
HANDWRITING, LINCOLN (Cont'd)

Exhibitors

*For key, see
page 207*

<i>Hotel Register</i> , Truesdell Hotel (Photostatic copy) 1858.....	I
<i>Legal size document</i> in Lincoln's handwriting.....	K
<i>Praecipae for Summons</i> at Common Law, signed by A. Lincoln for Stuart & Lincoln, Oct. 10, 1839 (framed in part of floor of Lincoln's first law office).....	D
<i>Signature</i> to a memorandum of card	K

MISCELLANEOUS

<i>Album</i> , 300 Lincoln Postcards.....	K
<i>Counterpane</i> , used on death bed.....	O
<i>Debate Papers</i>	G
<i>Dispatch</i> , celebrated, Douglas to people after interview with Lincoln, written in his own hand, April 1861.....	I
<i>Election Poster</i>	
"For President Abraham Lincoln, for Vice-President, Andrew Jackson"	J
"For President Stephen A. Douglas, for Vice-President, Herschel B. Johnson"	G
<i>Goblet</i> , Lincoln Lace (2)	F
<i>Lamp</i> , Lincoln Drape	Q
<i>Envelope</i> , Lincoln-Johnson	K
<i>Mourning Card</i> (1865)	K
<i>Hat</i> , Lincoln Tile	H
<i>Paisley Shawl</i> , worn by Mrs. Lincoln	O
<i>Railroad Pass</i> , Honorable Abraham Lincoln	G
<i>Union Ballot</i> , Cook County, 1864	K
<i>Wall paper</i> (piece) Lincoln's Bedroom, Springfield	C & K

MEMENTOS (Cont'd)

*Exhibitors**For key, see
page 207*

PROGRAM

<i>Order exercises, Washington, April 19, 1865</i>	K
<i>Ford's Theater, Friday evening, April 14, 1865</i>	G & M
<i>Funeral Services, Portland, Me., April 19, 1865</i>	K

WOODEN MEMENTOS

<i>Hodgenville Cabin, piece of one of original logs</i>	J
<i>Home Where Lincoln was Married, Shingles from</i>	K
<i>Indiana Home, piece of wood from</i>	K
<i>Lincoln & Berry Store, New Salem, walnut from door of</i>	K
<i>Lincoln Home, walnut panel, kitchen door</i>	D
<i>Office, Lincoln's first law,</i> Penholder and Gavel from oak floor	K
<i>Rail, piece of, carried into Decatur Convention by John Hanks, 1860</i>	J
split by Lincoln, 1860.	G
walnut, used in Decatur Convention, 1860	D
<i>Springfield Home</i> 4-foot board from	K
Gavel from doorjamb of and from tree on lawn of	D
Gavel from oak floor first law office	K
Piece of timber from	C
Walnut board with bronze head of Lincoln	K

PAMPHLETS
SPEECHES, REPRINTS OF*Douglas, Stephen A.*

on Kansas Territorial Affairs, Senate, March 20, 1856	G
on Dred Scott Decision, Springfield, Ill., June 12, 1857	G
in Senate, May 15-16, 1860	G
on death of Douglas, Senate and House, July 9, 1861	G

PAMPHLETS
SPEECH REPRINTS (Cont'd)

Exhibitors

*For key, see
page 207*

Lincoln, Abraham

in reply to Douglas, Springfield, Ill., June 26, 1857.....G
on "Reference of the President's Message" Jan. 14, 1848..G
on Presidential Question, (House) July 21, 1848.....G
before Republican State Convention, June 16, 1858.....G
at Springfield, Ill., June 17, 1858.....G
at Cooper Institute, New York City, Feb. 27, 1860.....G
Inaugural address, March 4, 1861G
President's Message, 1st session 37th Cong. 1861.....G
Amnesty Proclamation & Third Annual Message.....G

Trumbull, Hon. Lyman

on "Great Issues of the Day" Chicago, August 7, 1858....G

SONGBOOKS

Campaign Song, 1864K
Campaign Songster, 1864J & K
Funeral Hymn "Nation Mourns"K
"Republican Songster for the Campaign" by J. W.
HutchinsonG
Sheet Music, (12 pieces) Lincoln DeathK
"The Wide-Awake Vocalist or Railsplitters Song Book,"
1860G

MISCELLANEOUS

"*Campaign Life*" (32 pages by John Locke Scripps, later editor of Chicago Tribune,) first life ever written of Lincoln. When life was first written, before its final revision Mr. Scripps included the statement that Abraham Lincoln had read Plutarch's Lives, which at the

PAMPHLETS
MISCELLANEOUS (Cont'd)

Exhibitors

*For key, see
page 207*

first interview was not true, but at the final revision and before publication Lincoln stated to Mr. Scripps that he had read Plutarch's Lives in order that the biography might be true D

"Lincoln & Douglas as Orators and Lawyers" (Reminiscences of Ill. Bar 40 years ago) Arnold..... G

"Lincoln," day by day Activities, 1858, 1859, 1860 A

"Opinions and Practice of the Founders of the Republic in relation to arbitrary arrests, imprisonments of Tories, writs of habeas corpus, seizure of arms and private papers, domiciliary visits, confiscation of real and personal estate, etc., or the administration of Abraham Lincoln sustained by the sages and heroes of the Revolution" by Wm. A. Cook, Washington, D. C. 1864.... G

PAPERS

Freeport Weekly Journal, May 30 and Aug. 8, 1860; Dec. 3, 1863 E

Vicksburg paper, July 2, 1863 (printed on wall paper while Vicksburg battle was in progress) E

Freeport Bulletin, Oct. 1 and July 2, 1863; Jan. 25, 1865.. E

New York Herald, Apr. 15, 1865 (announcing assassination of Lincoln)..... F

Apr. 13 to 20, inclusive, 1865 K

Apr. 19, 1869 P

Harper's Weekly, May 6, 1865 M

Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper, N. Y., May 6, 1865..... M

Prairie Farmer, Sept. 10, 1858..... C

The Evening Post, N. Y. April 15, 1865..... M

The New York Times, N. Y., April 16, 1865..... M

Chicago Tribune, May 11, 1865 M

PICTURES, PHOTOGRAPHS, ETC.

DOUGLAS, STEPHEN A.

*Exhibitors**For key, see
page 207*

As Democratic candidate for 16th President of U. S., 1859	I
As United States Senator, 1854	I
Birthplace of	C
Legislative Directory of 1895	C
Mausoleum, Chicago	C
Mother of	C
Second Mrs. Douglas	C
Taken in 1858	I
Theater, Front St., Baltimore, Md., where Douglas was nominated for Presidency in 1860	C
11 separate pictures	C

LINCOLN, PERSONAL AND FAMILY PHOTOGRAPHS

Ambrotypes

Taken August 25, 1858, Macomb, Ill., when Lincoln was campaigning against Douglas	J
Taken in 1858, very rare	R

Brady

In 1863, near time of battle of Gettysburg. Very few said to be in existence. One each is owned by Mr. Fling, Harry T. Morgan, Peoria, Ill., and H. W. Fay, Springfield, Ill.	G
Steel engraving of Brady photograph; corners of frame made of wood from floor of Lincoln & Herndon's law office, Springfield, Ill.	J

Butler

Platinum photograph believed to be made by Harry Wright, Springfield, from life-sized oil painting made during presidential campaign, 1860. Frame made from piece of oak from original floor Lincoln's first law office	D
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PICTURES, PHOTOGRAPHS, ETC.
LINCOLN, PERSONAL & FAMILY (Cont'd)

Exhibitors

*For key, see
page 207*

Carpentier

Lincoln and his Cabinet N

Cole

12-inch oval (engraving) P

Hesler

Oil painting by Wm. Patterson made from photograph by Alexander Hesler in June, 1860, after nomination for Presidency. Without beard before nomination; grew one before inauguration at suggestion of Mrs. Grace Bedell Billings, Delphos, Kans., then a little N. Y. girl D

Taken in 1857 in Chicago from first photograph of Lincoln circulated for campaign. 48 years old. Original Hesler negative burned in Chicago fire J

One of 100 portraits made when Lincoln was nominated.

Only one now in existence. See illustration page R

Johnson

Abraham Lincoln N

Miniatures

Ivory miniature of Gardner photograph which was made in March, 1864, day of appointment of U. S. Grant as Lieut. General of U. S. Armies, by Wm. Patterson, Chicago D

Lincoln P

5 Ivory K

Overall, Charles

Delivering famous speech on night of Oct. 16, 1854 at Peoria, answering Douglas who spoke in afternoon— original painting J

Giving address on steps of old Peoria County Court House, October 16, 1854 J

PICTURES, PHOTOGRAPHS, ETC.
LINCOLN, PERSONAL & FAMILY (Cont'd)

Exhibitors

For key, see
page 207

Sartain

Engraving, 1866, by Samuel Sartain, son of John Sartain,
famous engraver J

Oval of Lincoln with a beard P & N

Volk, Douglas

Photograph of Lincoln J

Walter, A. B.

Engraved picture, published by John Dainty, Philadelphia, Pa. M

Unknown Photographers

As he entered the campaign for President at 51 years of age. Original negative (of which this is a copy) taken in June, 1860 at Springfield, Ill. J

At Cincinnati during 1856 campaign K

At Macomb Hill, 1858, age 49 P

Autographed picture of Lincoln K

Campaign Banner, (full length statue of Lincoln) 1860... N

Cooper Union, famous portrait of Lincoln J

Deathbed scene K

Entering Richmond K & P

First photograph of Lincoln published abroad; as president-elect of U. S. A. Supplement to Dec. 8, 1860 London News J

First photograph ever made of Lincoln, 39 years old, 1848 (Original daguerreotype owned by the late Robert Lincoln, son of the President) J

Lincoln and His Cabinet P & N

Lincoln and His Generals N

Lincoln in 1857 P

PICTURES, PHOTOGRAPHS, ETC.
LINCOLN, PERSONAL & FAMILY (Cont'd)

Exhibitors

*For key, see
page 207*

Lincoln in 1860	L
Lincoln in 1864	L & P
Old daguerreotype of Lincoln.....	E
On horseback at old Springfield residence, after return from campaign with Senator Douglas	I
On the Line of Battle, 1862.....	J
Shortly before his departure to Washington	L
Taken after the first Emancipation Proclamation in Washington, 1862, age 53.....	J
Taken early in 1864 at request of Sec. Seward of his cabinet	J
70 original photographs of Lincoln and his contemporaries	K
<i>Lincoln, Family</i>	
Only painting ever made showing the President sur- rounded by members of family. Painted during early part first Lincoln administration, before death (Feb. 1862) of Willie Lincoln	J
Oval framed picture of Lincoln Family	K

LINCOLN MEMENTOS

Album of pictures and clippings	C
Amboy, where Lincoln spoke	P
Contemporaries of Lincoln, 51 photographs.....	K
Debate, Lincoln-Douglas	N
Lincoln-Thornton, Shelbyville, Ill.	K
Funeral Procession, Chicago	E
Hanging Lincoln's Murderers	P
Honorary Pallbearers, I. C. Station Chicago	K
Lincoln's dog	G

PICTURES, PHOTOGRAPHS, ETC.
LINCOLN MEMENTOS (Cont'd)

Exhibitors

*For key, see
page 207*

New Salem, 5 pictures	C
Turner, Thos. who introduced Lincoln at Freeport Debate ..	E

LINCOLN, ROOMS AND HOMES, FURNITURE, ETC.

Bolling Green House interior	C
Cabinet made by Lincoln	K
Chair, old arm rocking	G
Court House where Lincoln was nominated for Congress...	C
Desk used in Legislature	K
Dining room	C
Lincoln's first view of a printing press	K
Log Cabin interior	K
New Salem home (1831-37)	J
Sitting room	C
Springfield home bedroom	C
Springfield house	N & K
White House reception	N

STATUES
BRONZES, BUSTS, MEDALLIONS,
PLASTER CASTS, POTTERIES, STATUES

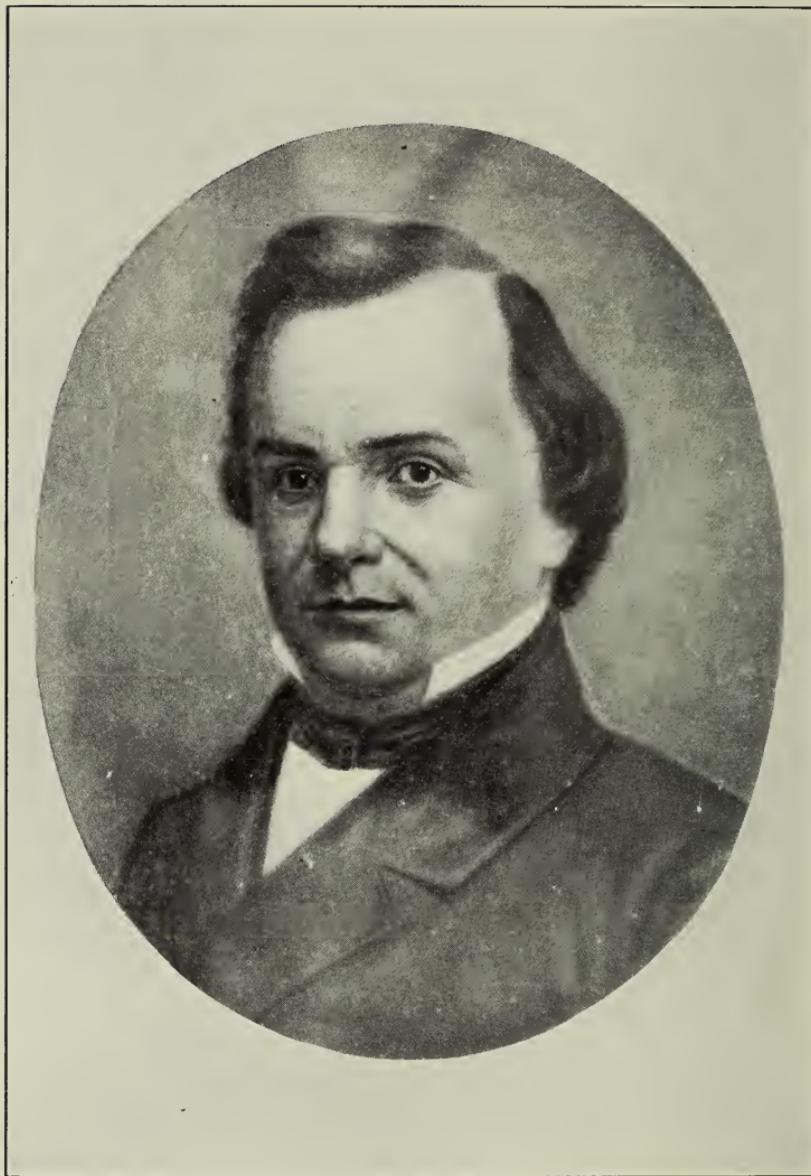
Many bronze, plaster, metal and marble busts, figures, bookends, etc., of Lincoln were exhibited by:

- Mr. H. W. Fay, Lincoln Monument, Springfield, Ill.
- Mr. John W. Fling, Wyoming, Ill.
- Judge Henry Horner, Chicago, Ill.
- Illinois Historical Society, Springfield, Ill.
- Mr. Edward Jacob, Peoria, Ill.
- Mr. J. B. Oakleaf, Moline, Ill.
- Mr. Jas. Rosenthal, Chicago, Ill.
- Mr. Harold Ward, Sterling, Ill.

WHAT LINCOLN AND DOUGLAS SAID AT FREEPORT

AS the Lincoln-Douglas debates in the summer of 1858 have come to be recognized by historians as the high tide of political stump oratory, so the speeches at Freeport have been likewise recognized as the outstanding addresses of the series. At some of the other debate places the crowds were larger, but the address made by Mr. Lincoln at Freeport, Aug. 27, 1858, has long since been recognized as a turning point in his career.

At Freeport, Illinois, the political sagacity of Lincoln was transformed into statesmanship—an intuitive foresight which afterwards marked his career. Because of the inaccessibility to these two great addresses at Freeport, it has been decided to reprint them as taken from the records of that time.



JUDGE STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS

Lincoln's opponent, from an oil painting made at about the time of the debates that changed history. Reproduced here by courteous permission of the Illinois Historical Society, which now possesses the original.

CHAPTER X

WHAT LINCOLN AND DOUGLAS SAID AT FREEPORT

MR. LINCOLN'S SPEECH

Ladies and Gentlemen: On Saturday last, Judge Douglas and myself first met in public discussion. He spoke one hour, I an hour and a half, and he replied for half an hour. The order is now reversed. I am to speak an hour, he an hour and a half, and then I am to reply for half an hour. I propose to devote myself during the first hour to the scope of what was brought within the range of his half-hour speech at Ottawa. Of course there was brought within the scope of that half-hour's speech something of his own opening speech. In the course of that opening argument Judge Douglas proposed to me seven distinct interrogatories. In my speech of an hour and a half, I attended to some other parts of his speech, and incidentally, as I thought, answered one of the interrogatories then. I then distinctly intimated to him that I would answer the rest of his interrogatories on condition only that he should agree to answer as many for me. He made no intimation at the time of the proposition, nor did he in his reply allude at all to that suggestion of mine. I do him no injustice in saying that he occupied at least half of his reply in dealing with me as though I had *refused* to an-

swer his interrogatories. I now propose that I will answer any of the interrogatories, upon condition that he will answer questions from me not exceeding the same number. I give him an opportunity to respond. The Judge remains silent. I now say that I will answer his interrogatories, whether he answers mine or not; and that after I have done so, I shall propound mine to him.

I have supposed myself, since the organization of the Republican party at Bloomington, in May, 1856, bound as a party man by the platforms of the party, then and since. If in any interrogatories which I shall answer I go beyond the scope of what is within these platforms, it will be perceived that no one is responsible but myself.

Having said thus much, I will take up the Judge's interrogatories as I find them printed in the Chicago *Times*, and answer them *seriatim*. In order that there may be no mistake about it, I have copied the interrogatories in writing, and also my answers to them. The first one of these interrogatories is in these words:

Question 1.—"I desire to know whether Lincoln today stands, as he did in 1854, in favor of the unconditional repeal of the Fugitive Slave law?"

Answer.—I do not now, nor ever did, stand in favor of the unconditional repeal of the Fugitive Slave law.

Q. 2. "I desire him to answer whether he stands pledged today, as he did in 1854, against the

admission of any more Slave States into the Union, even if the people want them?"

A. I do not now, or ever did, stand pledged against the admission of any more Slave States into the Union.

Q. 3. "I want to know whether he stands pledged against the admission of a new State into the Union with such a Constitution as the people of that State may see fit to make?"

A. I do not stand pledged against the admission of a new State into the Union, with such a Constitution as the people of that State may see fit to make.

Q. 4. "I want to know whether he stands today pledged to the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia?"

A. I do not stand today pledged to the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia.

Q. 5. "I desire him to answer whether he stands pledged to the prohibition of the slave-trade between the different States?"

A. I do not stand pledged to the prohibition of the slave-trade between the different States.

Q. 6. "I desire to know whether he stands pledged to prohibit slavery in all the Territories of the United States, north as well as south of the Missouri Compromise line?"

A. I am impliedly, if not expressly, pledged to a belief in the *right* and *duty* of Congress to prohibit slavery in all the United States Territories.

Q. 7. "I desire him to answer whether he is opposed to the acquisition of any new territory unless slavery is first prohibited therein?"

A. I am not generally opposed to honest acquisition of territory; and, in any given case, I would or would not oppose such acquisition, accordingly as I might think such acquisition would or would not aggravate the slavery question among ourselves.

Now, my friends, it will be perceived, upon examination of these questions and answers, that so far I have only answered that I was not *pledged* to this, that, or the other. The Judge has not framed his interrogatories to ask me anything more than this, and I have answered in strict accordance with the interrogatories, and have answered truly, that I am not *pledged* at all upon any of the points to which I have answered. But I am not disposed to hang upon the exact form of his interrogatory. I am rather disposed to take up at least some of these questions, and state what I really think upon them.

As to the first one, in regard to the Fugitive Slave law, I have never hesitated to say, and I do not now hesitate to say, that I think, under the Constitution of the United States, the people of the Southern States are entitled to a Congressional Fugitive Slave law. Having said that, I have had nothing to say in regard to the existing Fugitive Slave law, further than that I think it should have been framed so as to be free from some of the objections that pertain to it, without lessening its effi-

ciency. And inasmuch as we are not now in an agitation in regard to an alteration or modification of that law, I would not be the man to introduce it as a new subject of agitation upon the general question of slavery.

In regard to the other question, of whether I am pledged to the admission of any more Slave States into the Union, I state to you very frankly that I would be exceedingly sorry ever to be put in a position of having to pass upon that question. I should be exceedingly glad to know that there would never be another Slave State admitted into the Union; but I must add that if slavery shall be kept out of the Territories during the territorial existence of any one given Territory, and then the people shall, having a fair chance and a clear field, when they come to adopt the constitution, do such an extraordinary thing as to adopt a slave constitution, uninfluenced by the actual presence of the institution among them, I see no alternative, if we own the country, but to admit them into the Union.

The third interrogatory is answered by the answer to the second, it being, as I conceive, the same as the second.

The fourth one is in regard to the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia. In relation to that, I have my mind very distinctly made up. I should be exceedingly glad to see slavery abolished in the District of Columbia. I believe that Congress possesses the constitutional power to abolish it. Yet as a member of Congress, I should not,

with my present views, be in favor of *endeavoring* to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, unless it would be upon these conditions: *First*, that the abolition should be gradual; *second*, that it should be on a vote of the majority of qualified voters in the District; and *third*, that compensation should be made to unwilling owners. With these three conditions I confess I would be exceedingly glad to see Congress abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, and, in the language of Henry Clay, "sweep from our capital that foul blot upon our nation."

In regard to the fifth interrogatory, I must say here, that as to the question of the abolition of the slave trade between the different States, I can truly answer as I have, that I am *pledged* to nothing about it. It is a subject to which I have not given that mature consideration that would make me feel authorized to state a position so as to hold myself entirely bound by it. In other words, that question has never been prominently enough before me to induce me to investigate whether we really have the constitutional power to do it. I could investigate it if I had sufficient time to bring myself to a conclusion upon that subject; but I have not done so, and I say so frankly to you here, and to Judge Douglas. I must say, however, that if I should be of opinion that Congress does possess the constitutional power to abolish the slave-trade among the different States, I should still not be in favor of the exercise of that power, unless upon

some conservative principle as I conceive it, akin to what I have said in relation to the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia.

My answer as to whether I desire that slavery should be prohibited in all the Territories of the United States, is full and explicit within itself, and cannot be made clearer by any comments of mine. So I suppose in regard to the question whether I am opposed to the acquisition of any more territory unless slavery is first prohibited therein, my answer is such that I could add nothing by way of illustration, or making myself better understood, than the answer which I have placed in writing.

Now in all this the Judge has me, and he has me on the record. I suppose he had flattered himself that I was really entertaining one set of opinions for one place, and another set for another place; that I was afraid to say at one place what I uttered at another. What I am saying here I suppose I say to a vast audience as strongly tending to Abolitionism as any audience in the State of Illinois, and I believe I am saying that which, if it would be offensive to any persons and render them enemies to myself, would be offensive to persons in this audience.

I now proceed to propound to the Judge the interrogatories, so far as I have framed them. I will bring forward a new installment when I get them ready. I will bring them forward now, only reaching to number four.

The first one is:—

Question 1. If the people of Kansas shall, by means entirely unobjectionable in all other respects, adopt a State constitution, and ask admission into the Union under it, *before* they have the requisite number of inhabitants according to the English bill,—some ninety-three thousand,—will you vote to admit them?

Q. 2. Can the people of a United States Territory, in any lawful way, against the wish of any citizen of the United States, exclude slavery from its limits prior to the formation of a State Constitution?

Q. 3. If the Supreme Court of the United States shall decide that States cannot exclude slavery from their limits, are you in favor of acquiescing in, adopting, and following such decision as a rule of political action?

Q. 4. Are you in favor of acquiring additional territory, in disregard of how such acquisition may affect the nation on the slavery question?

As introductory to these interrogatories which Judge Douglas propounded to me at Ottawa, he read a set of resolutions which he said Judge Trumbull and myself had participated in adopting, in the first Republican State Convention, held at Springfield in October, 1854. He insisted that I and Judge Trumbull, and perhaps the entire Republican party, were responsible for the doctrines contained in the set of resolutions which he read, and I understand that it was from that set of reso-

lutions that he deduced the interrogatories which he propounded to me, using these resolutions as a sort of authority for propounding those questions to me. Now, I say here today that I do not answer his interrogatories because of their springing at all from that set of resolutions which he read. I answered them because Judge Douglas thought fit to ask them. I do not now, nor never did, recognize any responsibility upon myself in that set of resolutions. When I replied to him on that occasion, I assured him that I never had anything to do with them. I repeat here today that I never in any possible form had anything to do with that set of resolutions. It turns out, I believe, that those resolutions were never passed in any convention held in Springfield. It turns out that they were never passed at any convention or any public meeting that I had any part in. I believe it turns out, in addition to all this, that there was not, in the fall of 1854, any convention holding a session in Springfield, calling itself a Republican State Convention; yet it is true there was a convention, or assemblage of men calling themselves a convention, at Springfield, that did pass *some* resolutions. But so little did I really know of the proceedings of that convention, or what set of resolutions they had passed, though having a general knowledge that there had been such an assemblage of men there, that when Judge Douglas read the resolutions, I really did not know but they had been the resolutions passed then and there. I did not question

that they were the resolutions adopted. For I could not bring myself to suppose that Judge Douglas could say what he did upon this subject without *knowing* that it was true. I contented myself, on that occasion, with denying, as I truly could, all connection with them, not denying or affirming whether they were passed at Springfield. Now, it turns out that he had got hold of some resolutions passed at some convention or public meeting in Kane County. I wish to say here, that I don't conceive that in any fair and just mind this discovery relieves me at all. I had just as much to do with the convention in Kane County as that at Springfield. I am just as much responsible for the resolutions at Kane County as those at Springfield,—the amount of the responsibility being exactly nothing in either case; no more than there would be in regard to a set of resolutions passed in the moon.

I allude to this extraordinary matter in this canvass for some further purpose than anything yet advanced. Judge Douglas did not make his statement upon that occasion as matters that he believed to be true, but he stated them roundly as *being true*, in such form as to pledge his veracity for their truth. When the whole matter turns out as it does, and when we consider who Judge Douglas is,—that he is a distinguished Senator of the United States; that he has served nearly twelve years as such; that his character is not at all limited as an ordinary Senator of the United States, but

that his name has become of world-wide renown,—it is *most extraordinary* that he should so far forget all the suggestions of justice to an adversary, or of prudence to himself, as to venture upon the assertion of that which the slightest investigation would have shown him to be wholly false. I can only account for his having done so upon the supposition that that evil genius which has attended him through his life, giving to him an apparent astonishing prosperity, such as to lead very many good men to doubt there being any advantage in virtue over vice,—I say I can only account for it on the supposition that that evil genius has at last made up its mind to forsake him.

And I may add that another extraordinary feature of the Judge's conduct in this canvass—made more extraordinary by this incident—is, that he is in the habit, in almost all the speeches he makes, of charging falsehood upon his adversaries, myself and others. I now ask whether he is able to find in anything that Judge Trumbull, for instance, has said, or in anything that I have said, a justification at all compared with what we have, in this instance, for that sort of vulgarity.

I have been in the habit of charging as a matter of belief on my part that, in the introduction of the Nebraska bill into Congress, there was a conspiracy to make slavery perpetual and national. I have arranged from time to time the evidence which establishes and proves the truth of this charge. I recurred to this charge at Ottawa. I

shall not now have time to dwell upon it at very great length; but inasmuch as Judge Douglas, in his reply of half an hour, made some points upon me in relation to it, I propose noticing a few of them.

The Judge insists that, in the first speech I made, in which I very distinctly made that charge, he thought for a good while I was in fun; that I was playful; that I was not sincere about it; and that he only grew angry and somewhat excited when he found that I insisted upon it as a matter of earnestness. He says he characterized it as a falsehood so far as I implicated his *moral character* in that transaction. Well, I did not know, till he presented that view, that I had implicated his moral character. He is very much in the habit, when he argues me up into a position I never thought of occupying, of very cosily saying he has no doubt Lincoln is "conscientious" in saying so. He should remember that I did not know but what *he* was *altogether "conscientious"* in that matter. I can conceive it possible for men to conspire to do a thing, and I really find nothing in Judge Douglas' course or arguments that is contrary to or inconsistent with his belief of a conspiracy to nationalize and spread slavery as being a good and blessed thing; and so I hope he will understand that I do not at all question but that in all this matter he is entirely "conscientious."

But to draw your attention to one of the points I made in this case, beginning at the beginning.

When the Nebraska bill was introduced, or a short time afterward, by an amendment, I believe, it was provided that it must be considered "the true intent and meaning of this Act not to legislate slavery into any State or Territory, or to exclude it therefrom, but to leave the people thereof perfectly free to form and regulate their own domestic institutions in their own way, subject only to the Constitution of the United States." I have called his attention to the fact that when he and some others began arguing that they were giving an increased degree of liberty to the people in the Territories over and above what they formerly had on the question of slavery, a question was raised whether the law was enacted to give such unconditional liberty to the people; and to test the sincerity of this mode of argument, Mr. Chase, of Ohio, introduced an amendment, in which he made the law—if the amendment were adopted—expressly declare that the people of the Territory should have the power to exclude slavery if they saw fit. I have asked attention also to the fact that Judge Douglas and those who acted with him voted that amendment down, notwithstanding it expressed exactly the thing they said was the true intent and meaning of the law. I have called attention to the fact that in subsequent times a decision of the Supreme Court has been made, in which it has been declared that a Territorial Legislature has no constitutional right to exclude slavery. And I have argued and said that for men who did not intend that the people of the Territory

should have the right to exclude slavery absolutely and unconditionally, the voting down of Chase's amendment is wholly inexplicable. It is a puzzle, a riddle. But I have said, that with men who did look forward to such a decision, or who had it in contemplation that such a decision of the Supreme Court would or might be made, the voting down of that amendment would be perfectly rational and intelligible. It would keep Congress from coming in collision with the decision when it was made. Anybody can conceive that if there was an intention or expectation that such a decision was to follow, it would not be a very desirable party attitude to get into for the Supreme Court—all or nearly all its members belonging to the same party—to decide one way, when the party in Congress had decided the other way. Hence it would be very rational for men expecting such a decision to keep the niche in that law clear for it. After pointing this out, I tell Judge Douglas that it looks to me as though here was the reason why Chase's amendment was voted down. I tell him that, as he did it, and knows why he did it, if it was done for a reason different from this, *he knows what that reason was, and can tell us what it was.* I tell him, also, it will be vastly more satisfactory to the country for him to give some other plausible, intelligible reason *why* it was voted down than to stand upon his dignity and call people liars. Well, on Saturday he did make his answer; and what do you think it was? He says if I had only taken upon

myself to tell the whole truth about that amendment of Chase's, no explanations would have been necessary on his part—or words to that effect. Now, I say here that I am quite unconscious of having suppressed anything material to the case, and I am very frank to admit if there is any sound reason other than that which appeared to me material, it is quite fair for him to present it. What reason does he propose? That when Chase came forward with his amendment expressly authorizing the people to exclude slavery from the limits of every Territory, General Cass proposed to Chase, if he (Chase) would add to his amendment that the people should have the power to *introduce* or exclude, they would let it go. This is substantially all of his reply. And because Chase would not do that, they voted his amendment down. Well, it turns out, I believe, upon examination, that General Cass took some part in the little running debate upon that amendment, and then ran away *and did not vote on it at all*. Is not that the fact? So confident, as I think, was General Cass, that there was a snake somewhere about, he chose to run away from the whole thing. This is an inference I draw from the fact that, though he took part in the debate, his name does not appear in the ayes and noes. But does Judge Douglas' reply amount to a satisfactory answer? (Cries of "Yes," "Yes," and "No," "No.") There is some little difference of opinion here. But I ask attention to a few more views bearing on the question of whether it

amounts to a satisfactory answer. The men who were determined that that amendment should not get into the bill and spoil the place where the Dred Scott decision was to come in, sought an excuse to get rid of it somewhere. One of these ways—one of these excuses—was to ask Chase to add to his proposed amendment a provision that the people might *introduce* slavery if they wanted to. They very well knew Chase would do no such thing, that Mr. Chase was one of the men differing from them on the broad principle of his insisting that freedom was *better* than slavery,—a man who would not consent to enact a law, penned with his own hand, by which he was made to recognize slavery on the one hand, and liberty on the other, as *precisely equal*; and when they insisted on his doing this, they very well knew they insisted on that which he would not for a moment think of doing, and that they were only bluffing him. I believe (I have not, since he made his answer, had a chance to examine the journals or "Congressional Globe" and therefore speak from memory)—I believe the state of the bill at that time, according to parliamentary rules, was such that no member could propose an additional amendment to Chase's amendment. I rather think this is the truth,—the Judge shakes his head. Very well. I would like to know, then, *if they wanted Chase's amendment fixed over, why somebody else could not have offered to do it?* If they wanted it amended, why did they not offer the amendment? Why did they stand there taunt-

ing and quibbling at Chase? Why did they not *put it in themselves?* But to put it on the other ground: suppose that there was such an amendment offered, and Chase's was an amendment to an amendment; until one is disposed of by parliamentary law, you cannot pile another on. Then all these gentlemen had to do was to vote Chase's on, and then, in the amended form in which the whole stood, add their own amendment to it, if they wanted to put it in that shape. This was all they were obliged to do, and the ayes and noes show that there were thirty-six who voted it down, against ten who voted in favor of it. The thirty-six held entire sway and control. They could in some form or other have put that bill in the exact shape they wanted. If there was a rule preventing their amending it at the time, they could pass that, and then, Chase's amendment being merged, put it in the shape they wanted. They did not choose to do so, but they went into a quibble with Chase to get him to add what they knew he would not add, and because he would not, they stand upon the flimsy pretext for voting down what they argued was the meaning and intent of their own bill. They left room thereby for this Dred Scott decision, which goes very far to make slavery national throughout the United States.

I pass one or two points I have, because my time will very soon expire; but I must be allowed to say that Judge Douglas recurs again, as he did upon one or two other occasions, to the enormity of

Lincoln,—an insignificant individual like Lincoln, upon his *ipse dixit* charging a conspiracy upon a large number of members of Congress, the Supreme Court, and two Presidents, to nationalize slavery. I want to say that, in the first place, I have made no charge of this sort upon my *ipse dixit*. I have only arrayed the evidence tending to prove it, and presented it to the understanding of others, saying what I think it proves, but giving you the means of judging whether it proves it or not. This is precisely what I have done. I have not placed it upon my *ipse dixit* at all. On this occasion, I wish to recall his attention to a piece of evidence which I brought forward at Ottawa on Saturday, showing that he had made substantially the *same charge* against substantially the *same persons*, excluding his dear self from the category. I ask him to give some attention to the evidence which I brought forward that he himself had discovered a “fatal blow being struck” against the right of the people to exclude slavery from their limits, which fatal blow he assumed as in evidence in an article in the Washington *Union*, published “by authority.” I ask by whose authority? He discovers a similar or identical provision in the Lecompton Constitution. Made by whom? The framers of that Constitution. Advocated by whom? By all the members of the party in the nation, who advocated the introduction of Kansas into the Union under the Lecompton Constitution.

I have asked his attention to the evidence that he arrayed to prove that such a fatal blow was being struck, and to the facts which he brought forward in support of that charge,—being identical with the one which he thinks so villainous in me. He pointed it, not at a newspaper editor merely, but at the President and his Cabinet and the members of Congress advocating the Lecompton Constitution and those framing that instrument. I must again be permitted to remind him that although my *ipse dixit* may not be as great as his, yet it somewhat reduces the force of his calling my attention to the *enormity* of my making a like charge against him.

Go on, Judge Douglas.

* * * *

MR. DOUGLAS' SPEECH

Ladies and Gentlemen: The silence with which you have listened to Mr. Lincoln during his hour is creditable to this vast audience, composed of men of various political parties. Nothing is more honorable to any large mass of people assembled for the purpose of a fair discussion than that kind and respectful attention that is yielded, not only to your political friends, but to those who are opposed to you in politics.

I am glad that at last I have brought Mr. Lincoln to the conclusion that he had better define his position on certain political questions to which I called his attention at Ottawa. He there showed

no disposition, no inclination, to answer them. I did not present idle questions for him to answer, merely for my gratification. I laid the foundation for those interrogatories by showing that they constituted the platform of the party whose nominee he is for the Senate. I did not presume that I had the right to catechise him as I saw proper, unless I showed that his party, or a majority of it, stood upon the platform and were in favor of the propositions upon which my questions were based. I desired simply to know, inasmuch as he had been nominated as the first, last, and only choice of his party, whether he concurred in the platform which that party had adopted for its government. In a few minutes I will proceed to review the answers which he has given to these interrogatories; but, in order to relieve his anxiety, I will first respond to these which he has presented to me. Mark you, he has not presented interrogatories which have ever received the sanction of the party with which I am acting, and hence he has no other foundation for them than his own curiosity.

First, he desires to know if the people of Kansas shall form a constitution by means entirely proper and unobjectionable, and ask admission into the Union as a State, before they have the requisite population for a member of Congress, whether I will vote for that admission. Well, now, I regret exceedingly that he did not answer that interrogatory himself before he put it to me, in order that we might understand, and not be left to infer, on which side he is. Mr. Trumbull, during the

last session of Congress, voted from the beginning to the end against the admission of Oregon, although a Free State, because she had not the requisite population for a member of Congress. Mr. Trumbull would not consent, under any circumstances, to let a State, free or slave, come into the Union until it had the requisite population. As Mr. Trumbull is in the field, fighting for Mr. Lincoln, I would like to have Mr. Lincoln answer his own question, and tell me whether he is fighting Trumbull on that issue or not. But I will answer his question. In reference to Kansas, it is my opinion that as she has population enough to constitute a Slave State, she has people enough for a Free State. I will not make Kansas an exceptional case to the other States of the Union. I hold it to be a sound rule, of universal application, to require a Territory to contain the requisite population for a member of Congress before it is admitted as a State into the Union. I made that proposition in the Senate in 1856, and I renewed it during the last session, in a bill providing that no Territory of the United States should form a constitution and apply for admission until it had the requisite population. On another occasion I proposed that neither Kansas nor any other Territory should be admitted until it had the requisite population. Congress did not adopt any of my propositions containing this general rule, but did make an exception to Kansas. I will stand by that exception. Either Kansas must come in as a Free State, with

whatever population she may have, or the rule must be applied to all the other Territories alike. I therefore answer at once, that, it having been decided that Kansas has people enough for a Slave State, I hold that she has enough for a Free State. I hope Mr. Lincoln is satisfied with my answer; and now I would like to get his answer to his own interrogatory,—whether or not he will vote to admit Kansas before she has the requisite population. I want to know whether he will vote to admit Oregon before that Territory has the requisite population. Mr. Trumbull will not, and the same reason that commits Mr. Trumbull against the admission of Oregon, commits him against Kansas, even if she should apply for admission, as a Free State. If there is any sincerity, any truth, in the argument of Mr. Trumbull in the Senate, against the admission of Oregon because she had not 93,420 people, although her population was larger than that of Kansas, he stands pledged against the admission of both Oregon and Kansas until they have 93,420 inhabitants. I would like Mr. Lincoln to answer this question. I would like him to take his own medicine. If he differs with Mr. Trumbull, let him answer his argument against the admission of Oregon, instead of poking questions at me.

The next question propounded to me by Mr. Lincoln is, Can the people of a Territory in any lawful way, against the wishes of any citizen of the United States, exclude slavery from their limits prior to the formation of a State constitution? I

answer emphatically, as Mr. Lincoln has heard me answer a hundred times from every stump in Illinois, that in my opinion the people of a Territory can, by lawful means, exclude slavery from their limits prior to the formation of a State constitution. Mr. Lincoln knew that I had answered that question over and over again. He heard me argue the Nebraska bill on that principle all over the State in 1854, in 1855, and in 1856, and he has no excuse for pretending to be in doubt as to my position on that question. It matters not what way the Supreme Court may hereafter decide as to the abstract question whether slavery may or may not go into a Territory under the Constitution, the people have the lawful means to introduce it or exclude it as they please, for the reason that slavery cannot exist a day or an hour anywhere, unless it is supported by local police regulations. Those police regulations can only be established by the local legislature; and if the people are opposed to slavery, they will elect representatives to that body who will by unfriendly legislation effectually prevent the introduction of it into their midst. If, on the contrary, they are for it, their legislation will favor its extension. Hence, no matter what the decision of the Supreme Court may be on that abstract question, still the right of the people to make a Slave Territory or a Free Territory is perfect and complete under the Nebraska bill. I hope Mr. Lincoln deems my answer satisfactory on that point.

In this connection, I will notice the charge which he has introduced in relation to Mr. Chase's amendment. I thought that I had chased that amendment out of Mr. Lincoln's brain at Ottawa; but it seems that it still haunts his imagination, and he is not yet satisfied. I had supposed that he would be ashamed to press that question further. He is a lawyer, and has been a member of Congress, and has occupied his time and amused you by telling you about parliamentary proceedings. He ought to have known better than to try to palm off his miserable impositions upon this intelligent audience. The Nebraska bill provided that the legislative power and authority of the said Territory should extend to all rightful subjects of legislation consistent with the organic act and the Constitution of the United States. I did not make any exception as to slavery, but gave all the power that it was possible for Congress to give, without violating the Constitution, to the Territorial legislature, with no exception or limitation on the subject of slavery at all. The language of that bill which I have quoted gave the full power and the full authority over the subject of slavery, affirmatively and negatively, to introduce it or exclude it, so far as the Constitution of the United States would permit. What more could Mr. Chase give by his amendment? Nothing. He offered his amendment for the identical purpose for which Mr. Lincoln is using it,—to enable demagogues in the country to try and deceive the people.

His amendment was to this effect: It provided that the legislature should have the power to exclude slavery; and General Cass suggested, "Why not give the power to introduce as well as exclude?" The answer was, They have the power already in the bill to do both. Chase was afraid his amendment would be adopted if he put the alternative proposition, and so make it fair both ways, but would not yield. He offered it for the purpose of having it rejected. He offered it, as he has himself avowed over and over again, simply to make capital out of it for the stump. He expected that it would be capital for small politicians in the country, and that they would make an effort to deceive the people with it; and he was not mistaken, for Lincoln is carrying out the plan admirably. Lincoln knows that the Nebraska bill, without Chase's amendment, gave all the power which the Constitution would permit. Could Congress confer any more? Could Congress go beyond the Constitution of the country? We gave all a full grant, with no exception in regard to slavery one way or the other. We left that question as we left all others, to be decided by the people for themselves, just as they please. I will not occupy my time on this question. I have argued it before, all over Illinois. I have argued it in this beautiful city of Freeport; I have argued it in the North, the South, the East, and the West, avowing the same sentiments and the same principles. I have

not been afraid to avow my sentiments up here for fear I would be trotted down into Egypt.

The third question which Mr. Lincoln presented is, If the Supreme Court of the United States shall decide that a State of this Union cannot exclude slavery from its own limits, will I submit to it? I am amazed that Lincoln should ask such a question. ("A schoolboy knows better.") Yes, a schoolboy does know better. Mr. Lincoln's object is to cast an imputation upon the Supreme Court. He knows that there never was but one man in America, claiming any degree of intelligence or decency, who ever for a moment pretended such a thing. It is true that the Washington *Union*, in an article published on the 17th of last December, did put forth that doctrine, and I denounced the article on the floor of the Senate, in a speech which Mr. Lincoln now pretends was against the President. The *Union* had claimed that slavery had a right to go into the Free States, and that any provision in the Constitution or laws of the Free States to the contrary was null and void. I denounced it in the Senate, as I said before, and I was the first man who did. Lincoln's friends, Trumbull, and Seward, and Hale, and Wilson, and the whole Black Republican side of the Senate, were silent. They left it to me to denounce it. And what was the reply made to me on that occasion? Mr. Toombs, of Georgia, got up and undertook to lecture me on the ground that I ought not to have deemed the article worthy of

notice, and ought not to have replied to it; that there was not one man, woman, or child south of the Potomac, in any Slave State, who did not repudiate any such pretension. Mr. Lincoln knows that that reply was made on the spot, and yet now he asks this question. He might as well ask me, Suppose, Mr. Lincoln should steal a horse, would I sanction it; and it would be as genteel in me to ask him, in the event he stole a horse, what ought to be done with him. He casts an imputation upon the Supreme Court of the United States by supposing that they would violate the Constitution of the United States. I tell him that such a thing is not possible. It would be an act of moral treason that no man on the bench could ever descend to. Mr. Lincoln himself would never in his partisan feelings so far forget what was right as to be guilty of such an act.

The fourth question of Mr. Lincoln is, Are you in favor of acquiring additional territory, in disregard as to how such acquisition may affect the Union on the slavery question? This question is very ingeniously and cunningly put.

The Black Republican creed lays it down expressly that under no circumstances shall we acquire any more territory, unless slavery is first prohibited in the country. I ask Mr. Lincoln whether he is in favor of that proposition. Are you (addressing Mr. Lincoln) opposed to the acquisition of any more territory, under any circumstances, unless slavery is prohibited in it? That he does

not like to answer. When I ask him whether he stands up to that article in the platform of his party, he turns, Yankee-fashion, and without answering it, asks me whether I am in favor of acquiring territory without regard to how it may affect the Union on the slavery question. I answer that whenever it becomes necessary, in our growth and progress, to acquire more territory, that I am in favor of it, without reference to the question of slavery; and when we have acquired it, I will leave the people free to do as they please, either to make it slave or free territory, as they prefer. It is idle to tell me or you that we have territory enough. Our fathers supposed that we had enough when our territory extended to the Mississippi River; but a few years' growth and expansion satisfied them that we needed more, and the Louisiana territory, from the West branch of the Mississippi to the British possessions, was acquired. Then we acquired Oregon, then California and New Mexico. We have enough now for the present; but this is a young and growing nation. Its swarms as often as a hive of bees; and as new swarms are turned out each year, there must be hives in which they can gather and make their honey. In less than fifteen years, if the same progress that has distinguished the country for the last fifteen years continues, every foot of vacant land between this and the Pacific Ocean, owned by the United States, will be occupied. Will you not continue to increase at the end of fifteen years as well as now? I tell you, in-

crease, and multiply, and expand, is the law of this nation's existence. You cannot limit this great Republic by mere boundary lines, saying, "Thus far shalt thou go, and no further." Any one of you gentlemen might as well say to a son twelve years old that he is big enough, and must not grow any larger; and in order to prevent his growth, put a hoop around him to keep him to his present size. What would be the result? Either the hoop must burst and be rent asunder, or the child must die. So it would be with this great nation. With our national increase, growing with a rapidity unknown in any part of the globe, with the tide of emigration that is fleeing from despotism in the old world to seek refuge in our own, there is a constant torrent pouring into this country that requires more land, more territory upon which to settle; and just as fast as our interests and our destiny require additional territory in the North, in the South, or on the islands of the ocean, I am for it; and when we acquire it, will leave the people, according to the Nebraska bill, free to do as they please on the subject of slavery and every other question.

I trust now that Mr. Lincoln will deem himself answered on his four points. He racked his brain so much in devising these four questions that he exhausted himself, and had not strength enough to invent the others. As soon as he is able to hold a council with his advisers, Lovejoy, Farnsworth, and Fred Douglass, he will frame and propound

others. ("Good, good.") You Black Republicans who say good, I have no doubt think that they are all good men. I have reason to recollect that some people in this country think that Fred Douglass is a very good man. The last time I came here to make a speech, while talking from the stand to you, people of Freeport, as I am doing today, I saw a carriage—and a magnificent one it was—drive up and take a position on the outside of the crowd; a beautiful young lady was sitting on the box-seat, whilst Fred Douglass and her mother reclined inside, and the owner of the carriage acted as driver. I saw this in your own town. ("What of it?") All I have to say of it is this, that if you, Black Republicans, think that the negro ought to be on a social equality with your wives and daughters, and ride in a carriage with your wife, whilst you drive the team, you have perfect right to do so. I am told that one of Fred Douglass' kinsmen, another rich black negro, is now traveling in this part of the State, making speeches for his friend Lincoln as the champion of black men. ("What have you to say against it?") All I have to say on that subject is, that those of you who believe that the negro is your equal and ought to be on an equality with you socially, politically, and legally, have a right to entertain those opinions, and of course will vote for Mr. Lincoln.

I have a word to say on Mr. Lincoln's answers to the interrogatories contained in my speech at Ottawa, and which he has pretended to reply to here

today. Mr. Lincoln makes a great parade of the fact that I quoted a platform as having been adopted by the Black Republican party at Springfield in 1854, which, it turns out, was adopted at another place. Mr. Lincoln loses sight of the thing itself in his ecstasies over the mistake I made in stating the place where it was done. He thinks that that platform was not adopted on the right "spot."

When I put the direct questions to Mr. Lincoln to ascertain whether he now stands pledged to that creed,—to the unconditional repeal of the Fugitive Slave law, a refusal to admit any more Slave States into the Union, even if the people want them, a determination to apply the Wilmot Proviso, not only to all the territory we now have, but all that we may hereafter acquire,—he refused to answer; and his followers say, in excuse, that the resolutions upon which I based my interrogatories were not adopted at the "*right spot*." Lincoln and his political friends are great on "*spots*." In Congress, as a representative of this State, he declared the Mexican war to be unjust and infamous, and would not support it, or acknowledge his own country to be right in the contest, because he said that American blood was not shed on American soil in the "*right spot*." And now he cannot answer the questions I put to him at Ottawa because the resolutions I read were not adopted at the "*right spot*."

It may be possible that I was led into an error as to the *spot* on which the resolutions I then read

were proclaimed, but I was not, and am not, in error as to the fact of their forming the basis of the creed of the Republican party when that party was first organized. I will state to you the evidence I had, and upon which I relied for my statement that the resolutions in question were adopted at Springfield on the 5th of October, 1854. Although I was aware that such resolutions had been passed in this district, and nearly all the Northern Congressional Districts and County Conventions, I had not noticed whether or not they had been adopted by any State convention. In 1856, a debate arose in Congress between Major Thomas L. Harris, of the Springfield District, and Mr. Norton, of the Joliet District, on political matters connected with our State, in the course of which, Major Harris quoted these resolutions as having been passed by the first Republican State Convention that ever assembled in Illinois. I knew that Major Harris was remarkable for his accuracy, that he was a very conscientious and sincere man, and I also noticed that Norton did not question the accuracy of this statement. I therefore took it for granted that it was so; and the other day when I concluded to use the resolutions at Ottawa, I wrote to Charles H. Lamphier, editor of the *State Register*, at Springfield, calling his attention to them, telling him that I had been informed that Major Harris was lying sick at Springfield, and desiring him to call upon him and ascertain all the facts concerning the resolutions, the time and the place where they were

adopted. In reply, Mr. Lamphier sent me two copies of his paper, which I have here. The first is a copy of the *State Register*, published at Springfield, Mr. Lincoln's own town, on the 16th of October, 1854, only eleven days after the adjournment of the Convention, from which I desire to read the following:—

“During the late discussion in this city, Lincoln made a speech, to which Judge Douglas replied. In Lincoln's speech he took the broad ground that, according to the Declaration of Independence, the whites and blacks are equal. From this he drew the conclusion, which he several times repeated, that the white man had no right to pass laws for the government of the black man without the nigger's consent. This speech of Lincoln's was heard and applauded by all the Abolitionists assembled in Springfield. So soon as Mr. Lincoln was done speaking, Mr. Codding arose and requested all the delegates to the Black Republican Convention to withdraw into the Senate chamber. They did so; and after long deliberation, they laid down the following Abolition platform as the platform on which they stood. We call the particular attention of all our readers to it.”

Then follows the identical platform, word for word, which I read at Ottawa. Now, that was published in Mr. Lincoln's own town, eleven days after the Convention was held, and it has remained on record up to this day never contradicted.

When I quoted the resolutions at Ottawa and questioned Mr. Lincoln in relation to them, he said that his name was on the committee that reported them, but he did not serve, nor did he think he served, because he was, or thought he was, in Tazewell County at the time the Convention was in session. He did not deny that the resolutions were passed by the Springfield Convention. He did not know better, and evidently thought that they were; but afterward his friends declared that they had discovered that they varied in some respects from the resolutions passed by that Convention. I have shown you that I had good evidence for believing that the resolutions had been passed at Springfield. Mr. Lincoln ought to have known better; but not a word is said about his ignorance on the subject, whilst I, notwithstanding the circumstances, am accused of forgery.

Now, I will show you that if I have made a mistake as to the place where these resolutions were adopted,—and when I get down to Springfield I will investigate the matter, and see whether or not I have,—that the principles they enunciate were adopted as the Black Republican platform (“white, white”), in the various counties and Congressional Districts, throughout the north end of the State in 1854. This platform was adopted in nearly every county that gave a Black Republican majority for the Legislature in that year, and here is a man (pointing to Mr. Denio, who sat on the stand near Deacon Bross) who knows as well as any

living man that it was the creed of the Black Republican party at that time. I would be willing to call Denio as a witness, or any other honest man belonging to that party. I will now read the resolutions adopted at the Rockford Convention on the 30th day of August, 1854, which nominated Washburne for Congress. You elected him on the following platform:—

Resolved, That the continued and increasing aggressions of slavery in our country are destructive of the best rights of a free people, and that such aggressions cannot be successfully resisted without the united political action of all good men.

Resolved, That the citizens of the United States hold in their hands peaceful, constitutional, and efficient remedy against the encroachments of the slave power,—the ballot box; and if that remedy is boldly and wisely applied, the principles of liberty and eternal justice will be established.

Resolved, That we accept this issue forced upon us by the slave power, and, in defence of freedom, will cooperate and be known as Republicans, pledged to the accomplishment of the following purposes:—

“To bring the Administration of the Government back to the control of first principles; to restore Kansas and Nebraska to the position of Free Territories; to repeal and entirely abrogate the Fugitive Slave law; to restrict slavery to those States in which it exists; to prohibit the admission of any more Slave States into the Union; to ex-

clude slavery from all the Territories over which the General Government has exclusive jurisdiction; and to resist the acquisition of any more Territories, unless the introduction of slavery therein forever shall have been prohibited.

Resolved, That in furtherance of these principles we will use such constitutional and lawful means as shall seem best adapted to their accomplishment, and that we will support no man for office under the general or state government who is not positively committed to the support of these principles, and whose personal character and conduct is not a guarantee that he is reliable, and shall adjure all party allegiance and ties.

Resolved, That we cordially invite persons of all former political parties whatever, in favor of the object expressed in the above resolutions, to unite with us in carrying them into effect."

Well, you think that is a very good platform, do you not? If you do, if you approve it now, and think it is all right, you will not join with those men who say I libel you by calling these your principles, will you? Now, Mr. Lincoln complains; Mr. Lincoln charges that I did you and him injustice by saying that this was the platform of your party. I am told that Washburne made a speech in Galena last night, in which he abused me awfully for bringing to light this platform, on which he was elected to Congress. He thought that you had forgotten it, as he, and Mr. Lincoln desires to. He did not deny but that you had adopted it,

and that he had subscribed to and was pledged by it, but he did not think it was fair to call it up and remind the people that it was their platform.

But I am glad to find that you are more honest in your Abolitionism than your leaders, by avowing that it is your platform, and right in your opinion.

In the adoption of that platform, you not only declared that you would resist the admission of any more Slave States, and work for the repeal of the Fugitive Slave law, but you pledged yourselves not to vote for any man for State or Federal offices who was not committed to these principles. You were thus committed. Similar resolutions to those were adopted in your county Convention here, and now with your admissions that they are your platform and embody your sentiments now as they did then, what do you think of Mr. Lincoln, your candidate for the United States Senate, who is attempting to dodge the responsibility of this platform because it was not adopted in the right spot? I thought that it was adopted in Springfield; but it turns out it was not, that it was adopted at Rockford, and in the various counties which comprise this Congressional District. When I get into the next district, I will show that the same platform was adopted there, and so on through the State, until I nail the responsibility of it upon the Black Republican party throughout the State.

A Voice: Couldn't you modify, and call it brown?

Mr. Douglas: Not a bit. I thought that you were becoming a little brown when your members in Congress voted for the Crittenden-Montgomery bill; but since you have backed out from that position and gone back to Abolitionism you are black, and not brown.

Gentlemen, I have shown you what your platform was in 1854. You still adhere to it. The same platform was adopted by nearly all the counties where the Black Republican party had a majority in 1854. I wish now to call your attention to the action of your representatives in the Legislature when they assembled together at Springfield. In the first place, you must remember that this was the organization of a new party. It is so declared in the resolutions themselves, which say that you are going to dissolve all old party ties and call the new party Republican. The old Whig party was to have its throat cut from ear to ear, and the Democratic party was to be annihilated and blotted out of existence, whilst in lieu of these parties the Black Republican party was to be organized on this Abolition platform. You know who the chief leaders were in breaking up and destroying these two great parties. Lincoln on the one hand, and Trumbull on the other, being disappointed politicians, and having retired or been driven to obscurity by an outraged constituency because of their political sins, formed a scheme to abolitionize the two parties, and lead the old line Whigs and old line Democrats captive, bound

hand and foot, into the Abolition camp. Giddings, Chase, Fred Douglass, and Lovejoy were here to christen them whenever they were brought in. Lincoln went to work to dissolve the old line Whig party. Clay was dead; and although the sod was not yet green on his grave, this man undertook to bring into disrepute those great Compromise measures of 1850, with which Clay and Webster were identified. Up to 1854 the old Whig party and the Democratic party had stood on a common platform so far as this slavery question was concerned. You Whigs and we Democrats differed about the bank, the tariff, distribution, the specie circular, and the sub-treasury, but we agreed on this slavery question, and the true mode of preserving the peace and harmony of the Union. The Compromise measures of 1850 were introduced by Clay, were defended by Webster, and supported by Cass, and were approved by Fillmore, and sanctioned by the National men of both parties. They constituted a common plank upon which both Whigs and Democrats stood. In 1852 the Whig party, in its last National Convention at Baltimore, indorsed and approved these measures of Clay, and so did the National Convention of the Democratic party held that same year. Thus the old line Whigs and the old line Democrats stood pledged to the great principle of self-government, which guarantees to the people of each Territory the right to decide the slavery question for themselves. In 1854, after the death of Clay and Webster, Mr. Lincoln, on the

part of the Whigs, undertook to abolitionize the Whig party, by dissolving it, transferring the members into the Abolition camp, and making them train under Giddings, Fred Douglass, Lovejoy, Chase, Farnsworth, and other Abolition leaders. Trumbull undertook to dissolve the Democratic party by taking old Democrats into the Abolition camp. Mr. Lincoln was aided in his efforts by many leading Whigs throughout the State, your member of Congress, Mr. Washburne, being one of the most active. Trumbull was aided by many renegades from the Democratic party, among whom were John Wentworth, Tom Turner, and others, with whom you are familiar.

(*Mr. Turner*, who was one of the moderators, here interposed, and said that he had drawn the resolutions which Senator Douglas had read.)

Mr. Douglas: Yes, and Turner says that he drew these resolutions. ("Hurrah for Turner." "Hurrah for Douglas,") That is right; give Turner cheers for drawing the resolutions if you approve them. If he drew those resolutions, he will not deny that they are the creed of the Black Republican party.

Mr. Turner: They are our creed exactly.

Mr. Douglas: And yet Lincoln denies that he stands on them. Mr. Turner says that the creed of the Black Republican party is the admission of no more Slave States, and yet Mr. Lincoln declares that he would not like to be placed in a position where he would have to vote for them. All I have

to say to friend Lincoln is, that I do not think there is much danger of his being placed in such an embarrassing position as to be obliged to vote on the admission of any more Slave States. I propose, out of mere kindness, to relieve him from any such necessity.

When the bargain between Lincoln and Trumbull was completed for abolitionizing the Whig and Democratic parties, they "spread" over the State, Lincoln still pretending to be an old line Whig, in order to "rope in" the Whigs, and Trumbull pretending to be as good a Democrat as he ever was, in order to coax the Democrats over into the Abolition ranks. They played the part that "decoy ducks" play down on the Potomac River. In that part of the country they make artificial ducks, and put them on the water in places where the wild ducks are to be found, for the purpose of decoying them. Well, Lincoln and Trumbull played the part of these "decoy ducks," and deceived enough old line Whigs and old line Democrats to elect a Black Republican Legislature. When that Legislature met, the first thing it did was to elect as Speaker of the House the very man who is now boasting that he wrote the Abolition platform on which Lincoln will not stand. I want to know of Mr. Turner whether or not, when he was elected, he was a good embodiment of Republican principles?

Mr. Turner: I hope I was then, and am now.

Mr. Douglas: He swears that he hopes he was then, and is now. He wrote that Black Republican platform, and is satisfied with it now. I admire and acknowledge Mr. Turner's honesty. Every man of you knows that what he says about these resolutions being the platform of the Black Republican party is true, and you also know that each one of these men who are shuffling and trying to deny it are only trying to cheat the people out of their votes for the purpose of deceiving them still more after the election. I propose to trace this thing a little further, in order that you can see what additional evidence there is to fasten this revolutionary platform upon the Black Republican party. When the Legislature assembled, there was a United States Senator to elect in the place of General Shields, and before they proceeded to ballot, Lovejoy insisted on laying down certain principles by which to govern the party. It has been published to the world and satisfactorily proven that there was, at the time the alliance was made between Trumbull and Lincoln to abolitionize the two parties, an agreement that Lincoln should take Shields' place in the United States Senate, and Trumbull should have mine so soon as they could conveniently get rid of me. When Lincoln was beaten for Shields' place in a manner I will refer to in a few minutes, he felt sore and resistive; his friends grumbled, and some of them came out and charged that the most infamous treachery had been practiced against him; that the bargain

was that Lincoln was to have had Shields' place, and Trumbull was to have waited for mine, but that Trumbull, having the control of a few abolitionized Democrats, he prevented them from voting for Lincoln, thus keeping him within a few votes of an election until he succeeded in forcing the party to drop him and elect Trumbull. Well, Trumbull having cheated Lincoln, his friends made a fuss, and in order to keep them and Lincoln quiet, the party was obliged to come forward, and in advance, at the last State election, and make a pledge that they would go for Lincoln and nobody else. Lincoln could not be silenced in any other way.

Now, there are a great many Black Republicans of you who do not know this thing was done. ("White, white," and great clamor.) I wish to remind you that while Mr. Lincoln was speaking there was not a Democrat vulgar and blackguard enough to interrupt him. But I know that the shoe is pinching you. I am clinching Lincoln now, and you are scared to death for the result. I have seen this thing before. I have seen men make appointments for joint discussions, and the moment their man has been heard, try to interrupt and prevent a fair hearing of the other side. I have seen your mobs before, and defy your wrath. (Tremendous applause.) My friends, do not cheer, for I need my whole time. The object of the opposition is to occupy my attention in order to prevent me from giving the whole evidence and nailing this double

dealing on the Black Republican party. As I have said before, Lovejoy demanded a declaration of principles on the part of the Black Republicans of the Legislature before going into an election for United States Senator. He offered the following preamble and resolutions which I hold in my hand:

“WHEREAS, Human slavery is a violation of the principles of natural and revealed rights; and whereas the fathers of the Revolution, fully imbued with the spirit of these principles, declared freedom to be the inalienable birthright of all men; and whereas the preamble to the Constitution of the United States avers that that instrument was ordained to establish justice, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity; and whereas, in furtherance of the above principles, slavery was forever prohibited in the old Northwest Territory, and more recently in all that Territory lying west and north of the State of Missouri, by the act of the Federal Government; and whereas the repeal of the prohibition last referred to was contrary to the wishes of the people of Illinois, a violation of an implied compact long deemed sacred by the citizens of the United States, and a wide departure from the uniform action of the General Government in relation to the extension of slavery; therefore,

“Resolved, by the House of Representatives, the Senate concurring therein, That our Senators in Congress be instructed, and our Representatives

requested to introduce, if not otherwise introduced, and to vote for a bill to restore such prohibition to the aforesaid territories, and also to extend a similar prohibition to all territory which now belongs to the United States, or which may hereafter come under their jurisdiction.

"Resolved, That our Senators in Congress be instructed, and our Representatives requested, to vote against the admission of any State into the Union, the Constitution of which does not prohibit slavery, whether the territory out of which such State may have been formed shall have been acquired by conquest, treaty, purchase, or from original territory of the United States.

"Resolved, That our Senators in Congress be instructed and our Representatives requested, to introduce and vote for a bill to repeal an Act entitled 'an Act respecting fugitives from justice and persons escaping from the service of their masters;' and, failing in that, for such a modification of it as shall secure the right of *habeas corpus* and trial by jury before the regularly constituted authorities of the State, to all persons claimed as owing service or labor."

Those resolutions were introduced by Mr. Lovejoy immediately preceding the election of Senator. They declared, first, that the Wilmot Proviso must be applied to all territory north of 36 deg., 30 min. Secondly, that it must be applied to all territory south of 36 deg., 30 min. Thirdly, that it must be applied to all the territory now

owned by the United States; and finally, that it must be applied to all territory hereafter to be acquired by the United States. The next resolution declares that no more Slave States shall be admitted into this Union under any circumstances whatever, no matter whether they are formed out of territory now owned by us or that we may hereafter acquire, by treaty, by Congress, or in any manner whatever. The next resolution demands the unconditional repeal of the Fugitive Slave law, although its unconditional repeal would leave no provision for carrying out that clause of the Constitution of the United States which guarantees the surrender of fugitives. If they could not get an unconditional repeal, they demanded that that law should be so modified as to make it as nearly useless as possible. Now, I want to show you who voted for these resolutions. When the vote was taken on the first resolution it was decided in the affirmative,—yeas 41, nays 32. You will find that this is a strict party vote, between the Democrats on the one hand, and the Black Republicans on the other. (Cries of "White, white," and clamor.) I know your name, and always call things by their right name. The point I wish to call your attention to is this: that these resolutions were adopted on the 7th day of February, and that on the 8th they went into an election for a United States Senator, and that day every man who voted for these resolutions, with but two exceptions, voted for Lincoln for the United States Senate. ("Give us their names.")

I will read the names over to you if you want them, but I believe your object is to occupy my time.

On the next resolution the vote stood—yeas 33, nays 40; and on the third resolution—yeas 35, nays 47. I wish to impress it upon you that every man who voted for those resolutions, with but two exceptions, voted on the next day for Lincoln for United States Senator. Bear in mind that the members who have thus voted for Lincoln were elected to the Legislature pledged to vote for no man for office under the State or Federal Government who was not committed to this Black Republican platform. They were all so pledged. Mr. Turner, who stands by me, and who then represented you, and who says that he wrote those resolutions, voted for Lincoln, when he was pledged not to do so unless Lincoln was in favor of those resolutions. I now ask Mr. Turner (turning to Mr. Turner), did you violate your pledge in voting for Mr. Lincoln, or did he commit himself to your platform before you cast your vote for him?

I could go through the whole list of names here, and show you that all the Black Republicans in the Legislature, who voted for Mr. Lincoln, had voted on the day previous for these resolutions. For instance, here are the names of Sargent and Little, of Jo Daviess and Carroll, Thomas J. Turner of Stephenson, Lawrence of Boone and McHenry, Swan of Lake, Pinckney of Ogle County, and Lyman of Winnebago. Thus you see every mem-

ber from your Congressional District voted for Mr. Lincoln, and they were pledged not to vote for him unless he was committed to the doctrine of no more Slave States, the prohibition of slavery in the Territories, and the repeal of the Fugitive Slave law. Mr. Lincoln tells you today that he is not pledged to any such doctrine. Either Mr. Lincoln was then committed to those propositions, or else every Black Republican Representative from this Congressional District violated his pledge of honor to his constituents by voting for him. I ask you which horn of the dilemma will you take? Will you hold Lincoln up to the platform of his party, or will you accuse every Representative you had in the Legislature of violating his pledge of honor to his constituents? There is no escape for you. Either Mr. Lincoln was committed to those propositions, or your members violated their faith. Take either horn of the dilemma you choose. There is no dodging the question; I want Lincoln's answer. He says he was not pledged to repeal the Fugitive Slave law, that he does not quite like to do it; he will not introduce a law to repeal it, but thinks there ought to be some law; he does not tell what it ought to be; upon the whole, he is altogether undecided, and don't know what to think or do. That is the substance of his answer upon the repeal of the Fugitive Slave law. I put the question to him distinctly, whether he indorsed that part of the Black Republican platform which calls for the entire abrogation and repeal of

the Fugitive Slave law. He answers, No! that he does not endorse that; but he does not tell what he is for, or what he will vote for. His answer is, in fact, no answer at all. Why cannot he speak out, and say what he is for, and what he will do?

In regard to there being no more Slave States, he is not pledged to that. He would not like, he says, to be put in a position where he would have to vote one way or the other upon that question. I pray you, do not put him in a position that would embarrass him so much. Gentlemen, if he goes to the Senate, he may be put in that position, and then which way will he vote?

A Voice: How will you vote?

Mr. Douglas: I will vote for the admission of just such a state as by the form of their constitution the people show they want; if they want slavery, they shall have it, if they prohibit slavery, it shall be prohibited. They can form their institutions to please themselves, subject only to the Constitution; and I, for one, stand ready to receive them into the Union. Why cannot your Black Republican candidates talk out as plain as that when they are questioned?

I do not want to cheat any man out of his vote. No man is deceived in regard to my principles if I have the power to express myself in terms explicit enough to convey my ideas.

Mr. Lincoln made a speech when he was nominated for the United States Senate which covers all these Abolition platforms. He there lays down

a proposition so broad in its Abolitionism as to cover the whole ground.

"In my opinion it (the slavery agitation) will not cease until a crisis shall have been reached and passed. 'A house divided against itself cannot stand.' I believe this government cannot endure permanently, half slave and half free. I do not expect the house to fall, but I do expect it will cease to be divided. It will become all one thing or all the other. Either the opponents of slavery will arrest the further spread of it, and place it where the public mind shall rest in the belief that it is in the course of ultimate extinction, or its advocates will push it forward till it shall become alike lawful in all the States,—old as well as new, North as well as South."

There you find that Mr. Lincoln lays down the doctrine that this Union cannot endure divided as our fathers made it, with Free and Slave States. He says they must all become one thing, or all the other, that they must all be free or all slave, or else the Union cannot continue to exist; it being his opinion that to admit any more Slave States will dissolve it. I want to know of Mr. Lincoln whether he will vote for the admission of another Slave State.

He tells you the Union cannot exist unless the States are all free or all slave; he tells you that he is opposed to making them all slave, and hence he is for making them all free, in order that the Union may exist; and yet he will not say that he will not

vote against another Slave State, knowing that the Union must be dissolved if he votes for it. I ask you if that is fair dealing. The true intent and inevitable conclusion to be drawn from his first Springfield speech is, that he is opposed to the admission of any more Slave States under any circumstance. If he is so opposed, why not say so? If he believes this Union cannot endure divided into Free and Slave States, that they must all become free in order to save the Union, he is bound as an honest man to vote against any more Slave States. If he believes it, he is bound to do it. Show me that it is my duty, in order to save the Union, to do a particular act, and I will do it if the Constitution does not prohibit it. I am not for the dissolution of the Union under any circumstances. I will pursue no course of conduct that will give just cause for the dissolution of the Union. The hope of the friends of freedom throughout the world rests upon the perpetuity of this Union. The down-trodden and oppressed people who are suffering under European despotism all look with hope and anxiety to the American Union as the only resting place and permanent home of freedom and self-government.

Mr. Lincoln says that he believes that this Union cannot continue to endure with Slave States in it, and yet he will not tell you distinctly whether he will vote for or against the admission of any more Slave States, but says he would not like to be put to the test. I do not think he will be put to

the test. I do not think that the people of Illinois desire a man to represent them who would not like to be put to the test on the performance of a high constitutional duty. I will retire in shame from the Senate of the United States when I am not willing to be put to the test in the performance of my duty. I have been put to severe tests. I have stood by my principles in fair weather and in foul, in the sunshine and in the rain. I have defended the great principles of self-government here among you when Northern sentiment ran in a torrent against me, and I have defended that same great principle when Southern sentiment came down like an avalanche upon me. I was not afraid of any test they put to me. I knew I was right; I knew my principles were sound; I knew that the people would see in the end that I had done right, and I knew that the God of heaven would smile upon me if I was faithful in the performance of my duty.

Mr. Lincoln makes a charge of corruption against the Supreme Court of the United States, and two Presidents of the United States, and attempts to bolster it up by saying that I did the same against the *Washington Union*. Suppose I did make that charge of corruption against the *Washington Union*, when it was true, does that justify him in making a false charge against me and others? That is the question I would put. He says that at the time the Nebraska bill was introduced, and before it was passed, there was a con-

spiracy between the Judges of the Supreme Court, President Pierce, President Buchanan, and myself, by that bill and the decision of the court to break down the barrier and establish slavery all over the Union. Does he not know that that charge is historically false as against President Buchanan? He knows that Mr. Buchanan was at that time in England, representing this country with distinguished ability at the Court of St. James; that he was there for a long time before, and did not return for a year or more after. He knows that to be true, and that fact proves his charges to be false against Mr. Buchanan. Then, again, I wish to call his attention to the fact that at the time the Nebraska bill was passed, the Dred Scott case was not before the Supreme Court at all; it was not upon the docket of the Supreme Court; it had not been brought there; and the judges in all probability knew nothing of it. Thus the history of the country proves the charge to be false as against them. As to President Pierce, his high character as a man of integrity and honor is enough to vindicate him from such a charge; and as to myself, I pronounce the charge an infamous lie, whenever and wherever made, and by whomsoever made. I am willing that Mr. Lincoln should go and rake up every public act of mine, every measure I have introduced, report I have made, speech delivered, and criticise them; but when he charges upon me a corrupt conspiracy for the purpose of perverting the institutions of the country, I brand it as it de-

serves. I say the history of the country proves it to be false, and that it could not have been possible at the time. But now he tries to protect himself in this charge, because I made a charge against the Washington *Union*. My speech in the Senate against the Washington *Union* was made because it advocated a revolutionary doctrine, by declaring that the Free States had not the right to prohibit slavery within their own limits. Because I made that charge against the Washington *Union*, Mr. Lincoln says it was a charge against Mr. Buchanan. Suppose it was: is Mr. Lincoln the peculiar defender of Mr. Buchanan? Is he so interested in the Federal Administration, and so bound to it, that he must jump to the rescue and defend it from every attack that I may make against it? I understand the whole thing. The Washington *Union*, under the most corrupt of all men, Cornelius Wendell, is advocating Mr. Lincoln's claim to the Senate. Wendell was the printer of the last Black Republican House of Representatives; he was a candidate before the present Democratic House, but was ignominiously kicked out; and then he took the money which he had made out of the public printery by means of the Black Republicans, bought the Washington *Union*, and is now publishing it in the name of the Democratic party, and advocating Mr. Lincoln's election to the Senate. Mr. Lincoln therefore considers an attack upon Wendell and his corrupt gang as a personal attack upon him. This only proves what I have charged,

—that there is an alliance between Lincoln and his supporters, and the Federal office-holders of this State, and the Presidential aspirants out of it, to break me down at home.

Mr. Lincoln feels bound to come in to the rescue of the Washington *Union*. In that speech which I delivered in answer to the Washington *Union*, I made it distinctly against the *Union*, and against the *Union* alone. I did not choose to go beyond that. If I have reason to attack the President's conduct, I will do it in language that will not be misunderstood. When I differed with the President, I spoke out so that you all heard me. That question passed away; it resulted in the triumph of my principle, by allowing the people to do as they please; and there is an end of the controversy. Whenever the great principle of self-government,—the right of the people to make their own Constitution, and come into the Union with slavery or without it, as they see proper,—shall again arise, you will find me standing firm in defence of that principle, and fighting whomever fights it. If Mr. Buchanan stands, as I doubt not he will, by the recommendation contained in his Message, that hereafter all State constitutions ought to be submitted to the people before the admission of the State into the Union, he will find me standing by him firmly, shoulder to shoulder, in carrying it out. I know Mr. Lincoln's object: he wants to divide the Democratic party, in order that he may defeat me and get to the Senate.

(Mr. Douglas' time here expired, and he stopped on the moment.)

* * * *

MR. LINCOLN'S REJOINDER

My Friends: It will readily occur to you that I cannot in half an hour notice all the things that so able a man as Judge Douglas can say in an hour and a half; and I hope, therefore, if there be anything that he has said upon which you would like to hear something from me, but which I omit to comment upon, you will bear in mind that it would be expecting an impossibility for me to go over his whole ground. I can but take up some of the points that he has dwelt upon, and employ my half-hour specially on them.

The first thing I have to say to you is a word in regard to Judge Douglas' declaration about the "vulgarity and blackguardism" in the audience,—that no such thing, as he says, was shown by any Democrat while I was speaking. Now, I only wish, by way of reply on this subject, to say that while *I* was speaking, *I* used no "vulgarity or blackguardism" toward any Democrat.

Now, my friends, I come to all this long portion of the Judge's speech,—perhaps half of it,—which he has devoted to the various resolutions and platforms that have been adopted in the different counties in the different Congressional Districts, and in the Illinois Legislature, which he supposes are at variance with the positions I have assumed

before you today. It is true that many of these resolutions are at variance with the positions I have here assumed. All I have to ask is that we talk reasonably and rationally about it. I happen to know, the Judge's opinion to the contrary notwithstanding, that I have never tried to conceal my opinions, nor tried to deceive any one in reference to them. He may go and examine all the members who voted for me for United States Senator in 1855, after the election of 1854. They were pledged to certain things here at home, and were determined to have pledges from me; and if he will find any of these persons who will tell him anything inconsistent with what I say now, I will resign, or rather retire from the race, and give him no more trouble. The plain truth is this: At the introduction of the Nebraska policy, we believed there was a new era being introduced in the history of the Republic, which tended to the spread and perpetuation of slavery. But in our opposition to that measure we did not agree with one another in everything. The people in the north end of the State were for stronger measures of opposition than we of the central and southern portions of the State, but we were all opposed to the Nebraska doctrine. We had that one feeling and that one sentiment in common. You at the north end met in your Conventions and passed your resolutions. We in the middle of the State and further south did not hold such Conventions and pass the same resolutions, although we had in general a

common view and a common sentiment. So that these meetings which the Judge has alluded to, and the resolutions he has read from, were local, and did not spread over the whole State. We at last met together in 1856, from all parts of the State, and we agreed upon a common platform. You, who held more extreme notions, either yielded those notions, or, if not wholly yielding them, agreed to yield them practically, for the sake of embodying the opposition to the measures which the opposite party were pushing forward at that time. We met you then, and if there was anything yielded, it was for practical purposes. We agreed then upon a platform for the party throughout the entire State of Illinois, and now we are all bound, as a party, *to that platform*. And I say here to you, if any one expects me—in the case of my election—that I will do anything not signified by our Republican platform and my answers here today, I tell you very frankly that person will be deceived. I do not ask for the vote of any one who supposes that I have secret purposes or pledges that I dare not speak out. Cannot the Judge be satisfied? If he fears, in the unfortunate case of my election, that my going to Washington will enable me to advocate sentiments contrary to those which I expressed when you voted for and elected me, I assure him that his fears are wholly needless and groundless. Is the Judge really afraid of any such thing? I'll tell you what he is afraid of. *He is afraid we'll all pull together.* This is what alarms

him more than anything else. For my part, I do hope that all of us, entertaining a common sentiment in opposition to what appears to us a design to nationalize and perpetuate slavery, will waive minor differences on questions which either belong to the dead past or the distant future, and all pull together in this struggle. What are your sentiments? If it be true that on the ground which I occupy—ground which I occupy as frankly and boldly as Judge Douglas does his,—my views, though partly coinciding with yours, are not as perfectly in accordance with your feelings as his are, I do say to you in all candor, go for him, and not for me. I hope to deal in all things fairly with Judge Douglas, and with the people of the State in this contest. And if I should never be elected to any office, I trust I may go down with no stain of falsehood upon my reputation, notwithstanding the hard opinions Judge Douglas chooses to entertain of me.

The Judge has again addressed himself to the Abolition tendencies of a speech of mine made at Springfield in June last. I have so often tried to answer what he is always saying on that melancholy theme that I almost turn with disgust from the discussion,—from the repetition of an answer to it. I trust that nearly all of this intelligent audience have read that speech. If you have, I may venture to leave it to you to inspect it closely, and see whether it contains any of those “bugaboos” which frighten Judge Douglas.

The Judge complains that I did not fully answer his questions. If I have the sense to comprehend and answer those questions, I have done so fairly. If it can be pointed out to me how I can more fully and fairly answer him, I aver I have not the sense to see how it is to be done. He says I do not declare I would in any event vote for the admission of a Slave State into the Union. If I have been fairly reported, he will see that I did give an explicit answer to his interrogatories; I did not merely say that I would dislike to be put to the test, but I said clearly, if I were put to the test, and a Territory from which slavery had been excluded should present herself with a State constitution sanctioning slavery,—a most extraordinary thing, and wholly unlikely to happen,—I did not see how I could avoid voting for her admission. But he refuses to understand that I said so, and he wants this audience to understand that I did not say so. Yet it will be so reported in the printed speech that he cannot help seeing it.

He says if I should vote for the admission of a Slave State I would be voting for a dissolution of the Union, because I hold that the Union cannot permanently exist half slave and half free. I repeat that I do not believe this government *can* endure permanently half slave and half free; yet I do not admit, nor does it all follow, that the admission of a single Slave State will permanently fix the character and establish this as a universal slave nation. The Judge is very happy indeed at work-

ing up these quibbles. Before leaving the subject of answering questions, I aver as my confident belief, when you come to see our speeches in print, that you will find every question which he has asked me more fairly and boldly and fully answered than he has answered those which I put to him. Is not that so? The two speeches may be placed side by side, and I will venture to leave it to impartial judges whether his questions have been more directly and circumstantially answered than mine.

Judge Douglas says he made a charge upon the editor of the *Washington Union*, *alone*, of entertaining a purpose to rob the States of their power to exclude slavery from their limits. I undertake to say, and I make the direct issue, that he did *not* make his charge against the editor of the *Union* alone. I will undertake to prove by the record here that he made that charge against more and higher dignitaries than the editor of the *Washington Union*. I am quite aware that he was shirking and dodging around the form in which he put it, but I can make it manifest that he leveled his "fatal blow" against more persons than this *Washington* editor. Will he dodge it now by alleging that I am trying to defend Mr. Buchanan against the charge? Not at all. Am I not making the same charge myself? I am trying to show that you, Judge Douglas, are a witness on my side. I am not defending Buchanan, and I will tell Judge Douglas that in my opinion, when he made that charge, he had an eye farther north than he was to-

day. He was then fighting against people who called *him* a Black Republican and an Abolitionist. It is mixed all through his speech, and it is tolerably manifest that his eye was a great deal farther north than it is today. The Judge says that though he made this charge, Toombs got up and declared there was not a man in the United States, except the editor of the *Union*, who was in favor of the doctrines put forth in that article. And thereupon I understand that the Judge withdrew the charge. Although he had taken extracts from the newspaper and then from the Lecompton Constitution, to show the existence of a conspiracy to bring about a "fatal blow," by which the States were to be deprived of the right of excluding slavery, it all went to pot as soon as Toombs got up and told him it was not true. It reminds me of the story that John Phoenix, the California railroad surveyor, tells. He says they started out from the Plaza to the Mission of Dolores. They had two ways of determining distances. One was by a chain and pins taken over the ground. The other was by a "go-it-ometer,"—an invention of his own, —a three-legged instrument, with which he computed a series of triangles between the points. At night he turned to the chainman to ascertain what distance they had come, and found that by some mistake he had merely dragged the chain over the ground, without keeping any record. By the "go-it-ometer" he found he had made ten miles. Being skeptical about this, he asked a drayman who

was passing how far it was to the Plaza. The drayman replied it was just half a mile; and the surveyor put it down in his book,—just as Judge Douglas says, after he had made his calculations and computations, he took Toomb's statement. I have no doubt that after Judge Douglas had made his charge, he was as easily satisfied about its truth as the surveyor was of the drayman's statement of the distance to the Plaza. Yet it is a fact that the man who put forth all that matter which Douglas deemed a "fatal blow" at State sovereignty, was elected by the Democrats as public printer.

Now, gentlemen, you may take Judge Douglas' speech of March 22, 1858, beginning about the middle of page 21, and reading to the bottom of page 24, and you will find the evidence of which I say that he did not make his charge against the editor of the *Union* alone. I cannot stop to read it, but I will give it to the reporters. Judge Douglas said:—

"Mr. President, you here find several distinct propositions advanced boldly by the Washington *Union* editorially, and apparently *authoritatively*, and every man who questions any of them is denounced as an Abolitionist, a Free-soiler, a fanatic. The propositions are, first, that the primary object of all government at its original institution is the protection of persons and property; second, that the Constitution of the United States declares that the citizens of each State shall be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of citizens in the several

States; and that, therefore, thirdly, all State laws, whether organic or otherwise, which prohibit the citizens of one State from settling in another with their slave property, and especially declaring it forfeited, are direct violations of the original intention of the Government and Constitution of the United States; and, fourth, that the emancipation of the slaves of the Northern States was a gross outrage on the rights of property, inasmuch as it was involuntarily done on the part of the owner.

“Remember that this article was published in the *Union* on the 17th of November, and on the 18th appeared the first article, giving the adhesion of the *Union* to the Lecompton Constitution. It was in these words:—

“‘KANSAS AND HER CONSTITUTION.—The vexed question is settled. The problem is solved. The dead point of danger is passed. All serious trouble to Kansas affairs is over and gone—’

“And a column, nearly, of the same sort. Then, when you come to look into the Lecompton Constitution, you find the same doctrine incorporated in it which was put forth editorially in the *Union*. What is it?

“‘ARTICLE 7, *Section 1*. The right of property is before and higher than any constitutional sanction; and the right of the owner of a slave to such slave and its increase is the same and as invariable as the right of the owner of any property whatever.’

"Then in the schedule is a provision that the Constitution may be amended after 1864 by a two-thirds vote.

"But no alteration shall be made to effect the right of property in the ownership of slaves."

"It will be seen by these clauses in the Lecompton Constitution that they are identical in spirit with this *authoritative* article in the Washington *Union* of the day previous to its endorsement of this Constitution.

"When I saw that article in the *Union* of the 17th of November, followed by the glorification of the Lecompton Constitution on the 18th of November, and this clause in the Constitution asserting the doctrine that a State has no right to prohibit slavery within its limits, I saw that there was a *fatal blow* being struck at the sovereignty of the States of this Union."

Here he says, "Mr. President, you here find several distinct propositions advanced boldly, and apparently *authoritatively*." By whose authority, Judge Douglas? Again, he says in another place, "It will be seen by these clauses in the Lecompton Constitution that they are identical in spirit with this *authoritative* article." By whose authority? Who do you mean to say authorized the publication of these articles? He knows that the Washington *Union* is considered the organ of the Administration. I demand of Judge Douglas by whose authority he meant to say those articles were published, if not by the authority of the President

of the United States and his Cabinet? I defy him to show whom he referred to, if not to these high functionaries in the Federal Government. More than this, he says the articles in that paper and the provisions of the Lecompton Constitution are "identical," and, being identical, he argues that the authors are co-operating and conspiring together. He does not use the word "conspiring," but what other construction can you put upon it? He winds up with this:—

"When I saw that article in the *Union* of the 17th of November, followed by the glorification of the Lecompton Constitution on the 18th of November, and this clause in the Constitution asserting the doctrine that a State has no right to prohibit slavery within its limits, I saw that there was a *fatal blow* being struck at the sovereignty of the States of the Union."

I ask him if all this fuss was made over the editor of this newspaper. It would be a terribly "*fatal blow*" indeed which a single man could strike, when no President, no Cabinet officer, no member of Congress, was giving strength and efficiency to the moment. Out of respect to Judge Douglas' good sense I must believe he didn't manufacture his idea of the "*fatal*" character of that blow out of such a miserable scapegrace as he represents that editor to be. But the Judge's eye is farther south now. Then, it was very peculiarly and decidedly north. His hope rested on the idea of visiting the great "*Black Republican*" party,

and making it the tail of his new kite. He knows he was then expecting from day to day to turn Republican, and place himself at the head of our organization. He has found that these despised "Black Republicans" estimate him by a standard which he has taught them none too well. Hence he is crawling back into his old camp, and you will find him eventually installed in full fellowship among those whom he was then battling, and with whom he now pretends to be at such fearful variance. (Loud applause, and cries of "Go on, go on.") I cannot, gentlemen; my time has expired.

APPENDIX

LINCOLN AS SURVEYOR

*County of Mercer
Office of the State's Attorney*

Aledo, Ill., Aug. 15, 1929.

Under date of August 1st you wrote the county clerk of Mercer County regarding the fact of Abraham Lincoln having made the original survey for the town of New Boston in this County, and further mentioned the fact that some corner stones placed by him were recently removed in the construction of a new highway. The county clerk was ready to answer your letter but called my attention to the matter and I told him I would write you fully.

The writer is somewhat interested in these matters and especially as only recently I visited the Lincoln Museum at Old Salem and saw displayed there relics of the Lincoln days.

During the summer of 1928 a permanent hard road was constructed through the main street of New Boston and at that time a corner stone set by Lincoln was removed. As I understand a brass plate was prepared and set in the pavement at the point of removal but the original corner stone, as I am advised, was taken by the supervising engineer and is probably in his possession. Only one stone was removed.

In regard to the survey of New Boston, it is a fact that Lincoln at the time he was doing survey-

ing surveyed the town of New Boston. I have been somewhat interested in trying to locate the original plat made by him and especially since I saw at Old Salem an original plat of another town surveyed by him. The old records indicate that the original plat was returned to Elijah Iles of Sangamon County, who was one of the proprietors of the old town. Our records show the recording of the original plat, which evidently was traced, as the signature "A. Lincoln" appears to be identical with his genuine signature. As this plat has been considerably worn, a number of years ago our recorder had it copied in a more permanent book. Feeling that you might be interested in the things that appear from this plat I am enclosing herewith memorandum regarding the plat.

Yours very truly,

JAMES A. ALLEN

The town of New Boston, Mercer County, Illinois, was originally laid out on the bluff above the Mississippi River, this location being one of the early settlements in this vicinity. Above this point the Mississippi River makes a somewhat abrupt turn and as it passes this site flows somewhat west to east. It is apparent from the plat that Lincoln surveyed this town "square" with the river bank rather than "square" with the world, that is, the north side of the plat runs in a northeasterly direction, making the town laid out on an angle. Later additions to the town were laid

out with a compass and of course joined the original plat at angles.

The original plat of the town shows a number of blocks divided into lots with the original streets and alleys. One peculiarity is that the lots were not numbered but were indicated by either names or initials which were also used to designate the ownership as shown from the explanation attached to the plat as follows:

“Plat for the town of New Boston situated on Fractional Section 31 and Southwest Quarter of Section Thirty-two in Township 14, Range 5.

Explanation—The lots marked with the letter “M” belong to William Dennison, and the out-lots marked with his name belong to William Dennison.

The lots marked with the letter “H” and out-lots marked William H. Dennison belong to William H. Dennison.

The lots marked Iles and out-lots marked Elijah Iles belong to Elijah Iles of Sangamon County.

The privileges of ferrying and keeping a wood yard upon the lot marked “landing” on the plat are vested exclusively in William Dennison and John W. Dennison.

William Dennison, William H. Dennison and Elijah Iles each holds equal and undivided interest in the Northeast Range of lots on this plat and the outlot marked “D” which they propose to donate to the county provided the county will lo-

cate the county seat at New Boston and accept the said donation."

Attached to the original plat is the following: "I do hereby certify that the above is an accurate plat of the town of New Boston, as surveyed by me. A. Lincoln for Peter Butler, Surveyor for the County of Warren," and the attached signatures of the parties to this plat were acknowledged by the proprietors on September 30, 1834, and appear to have been further acknowledged before the county clerk on July 12, 1836, at which time one of the proprietors made further explanation as to the rights claimed in the lots abutting on the river bank. The plat was recorded as instrument No. 86 in Deed Record "B," at page 18, on July 12, 1836.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN CHRONOLOGY

*Bulletin of the Lincoln Historical
Research Foundation*

LOUIS A. WARREN

- 1809 February 12. Born in Hardin County, now LaRue County, Kentucky.
- 1811 Family moved to Knob Creek farm.
- 1812 A brother, Thomas, born but died in infancy.
- 1815 Attended first school taught by Zachariah Riney.
- 1816 Attended school taught by Caleb Hazel.
- 1816 November. Family moved to Perry County, now Spencer County, Indiana.
- 1817 January. Shot a turkey with his father's gun.
- 1818 October 5. Mother died of milk-sickness.
- 1819 December 2. Father married Sarah Johnston, a widow with three children.
- 1820 Attended school taught by Andrew Crawford.
- 1821 January 9. A step-sister, Elizabeth Johnston married Dennis Hanks.
- 1822 Attended school taught by Sweeney.
- 1823 Parents joined Pigeon Creek Baptist Church.
- 1824 Attended school taught by Azel W. Dorsey.
- 1825 Worked at Taylor's Ferry, Anderson Creek.

1826 August 2. His sister, Sarah Lincoln, married Aaron Grigsby.

1826 September 14. A step-sister, Matilda Johnston, married Squire Hall.

1828 January 20. His sister, Sarah Grigsby, died.

1828 April. Made first flatboat trip to New Orleans.

1829 Served as clerk in country store.

1830 March 1. Lincoln, Hanks, and Hall families started for Illinois.

1831 March. Employed by Denton Offutt to build flatboat.

1831 April. Made 2d flatboat trip to New Orleans.

1831 July. Took up permanent residence in New Salem.

1831 August 1. Cast first vote and served as clerk of election.

1831 Engaged as clerk in Offutt's store.

1832 March 9. Announced candidate for Legislature.

1832 April-July. Served in Black Hawk War.

1832 August 6. Defeated for Legislature.

1832 Purchased partnership in grocery store.

1833 May 7. Appointed postmaster at New Salem.

1834 January. Began work as a surveyor.

1834 Summer. Decided to study law.

1834 August. Elected to Illinois Legislature.

1835 August 25. Ann Rutledge died.

1836 August. Re-elected to Legislature.

1836 Fall. Courted Mary Owens.

1836 September 9. Licensed to practice law.

1837 March 3. Protested against pro-slavery action in Legislature.

1837 March 15. Removed to Springfield, Illinois.

1837 April 12. Became law partner of Stuart.

1838 August. Re-elected to Legislature.

1839 First met Mary Todd.

1840 August. Re-elected to Legislature.

1840 Campaigned, as an elector, for Garrison.

1841 January. On verge of mental collapse.

1841 May 14. Entered law partnership with Logan.

1842 September 22. Prepared to meet Shields in a duel.

1842 November 4. Married Mary Todd.

1843 August 1. His first son, Robert Lincoln, born.

1844 Campaigned as an elector for Clay.

1844 Formed law partnership with Herndon.

1846 March 10. Second son, Edward Baker, born.

1846 August. Elected representative in Congress.

1847 December 22. Introduced "Spot Resolutions" in Congress.

1848 September 12. Made first address in New England at Worcester.

1849 January 16. Presented bill to abolish slavery in District of Columbia.

1849 May 22. A patent for lifting vessels over shoals was granted him.

1849 Declined governorship of Oregon.

1850 February 1. Son, Edward Baker Lincoln, died.

1850 December 21. Third son, William Wallace, born.

1851 January 17. His father died in Coles County.

1853 A fourth son, Thomas Lincoln, born.

1854 October 4. Delivered the "Anti-Nebraska" speech at Springfield.

1854 October 16. Answered Douglas at Peoria.

1855 Won law suit for Illinois Central Railroad.

1855 Engaged in McCormick reaper case.

1856 February 22. Addressed convention of editors at Decatur.

1856 May 29. Delivered famous "Lost Speech" at Bloomington.

1856 June 17. Received 110 votes as candidate for vice-president at Republican Nat'l Convention.

1857 June 26. Delivered the "Dred Scott" speech at Springfield.

1858 May 7. Won Armstrong murder case.

1858 June 16. Delivered the "House-divided-against-itself" speech at Springfield.

1858 August 21. Debated with Douglas at Ottawa.

1858 August 27. Debated with Douglas at Freeport.

1858 September 15. Debated with Douglas at Jonesboro.

1858 September 18. Debated with Douglas at Charleston.

1858 October 7. Debated with Douglas at Galesburg.

1858 October 13. Debated with Douglas at Quincy.

1858 October 15. Debated with Douglas at Alton.

1858 November. Defeated as a Candidate for Senate.

1860 February 27. Delivered address at Cooper Union.

1860 May 9. Selected as candidate for presidency by Illinois Republican Convention.

1860 May 18. Nominated by the National Republican Convention as candidate for presidency.

1860 November 6. Elected President.

1861 February 11. Bade farewell to Springfield neighbors.

1861 February 22. Spoke in Independence Hall, Philadelphia.

1861 February 27. Arrived in Washington, D. C.

1861 March 4. Inaugurated President.

1861 April 15. Called extra session of Congress.

1861 May 10. Proclaimed martial law.

1862 February 12. His son, William Wallace, died.

1862 August 19. Replied to the Greeley editorial.

1862 September 22. Issued the Emancipation Proclamation.

1862 October 1. Visited Antietam.

1863 November 19. "Gettysburg Address."

1864 February 29. Named Grant lieutenant general.

1864 June 8. Nominated for President second term.

1864 July 18. Conferred with Greeley and Confederate commission.

1864 November 8. Elected for second time President of the United States.

1864 November 21. Wrote the famous letter to Mrs. Bixby.

1864 November 24. Proclaimed first national Thanksgiving Day.

1865 March 22. Visited Grant's army.

1865 April 4. Made trip to Richmond.

1865 April 11. Delivered last public address.

1865 April 14. Shot by assassin in Ford's Theatre.

1865 April 15. Died at 7:22 a. m.

1865 May 4. Buried in Oak Ridge Cemetery, Springfield.

THE BRONZE FACE OF LINCOLN

(Statue at Madison, Wis.)

By CHARLES R. VAN HISE

Late President of the University of Wisconsin

It cannot be doubted that the bronze face of Abraham Lincoln will modify the spiritual faces * * * who are to view daily the sad, calm, sagacious, determined, and rugged face of our great President of the Civil War. What this Lincoln statue will do in the way of developing nobility of character and sustained courage to carry forward the fight for the advancement of the people of this country, no one may foretell; but that it will be perpetually one of the great and high educational forces * * * no man may doubt. From it, during the centuries to come, many hundreds of thousands * * * will gain at least a reflection of the spirit of service to their country that animated Abraham Lincoln. They will persist to the end in the great fight for right and equal justice to all, even as did this man of sorrow. This spirit will pass in some measure to the millions with whom they come in contact, and gradually the widening influence for good of the Lincoln statue will extend throughout the world.

—A—

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